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1

Okinawa, Asia, and the Pacific

The Ryukyus, of which Okinawa, the Great Loo Choo of the nineteenth century explorers, is the largest island, is an arc, really the summits of submerged mountains, extending in a southwesterly direction from the KyūshŪ node almost to the island of Formosa. The arc is bowed outward and the archipelago forms a tenuous boundary separating the East China Sea from the Pacific.

The islands may be thought of as a link in a chain of peninsulas and archipelagos shaped like a rough semicircle from Korea to KyūshŪ, the Ryukyus and to Formosa, thence to the mainland of China. These peninsulas and the island chains and the coastal mainland, together with the Wei, Lo, and Fen valleys in the Hwang-ho northward bend, have been the scene of cultural intermingling from ancient times, but the area still awaits comparative study as a whole.

The direct and indirect influences which, considering its geography and insular position, have done most to fashion the culture of Okinawa have come from China, Korea, and the Japanese islands, in early times southwestern Japan, especially KyūshŪ. With the exception of the visits of European missions and squadrons in the nineteenth century, Western ideas came from Japanese sources. Okinawa, in the great era of the expansion of European ideas and influence in the nineteenth century, was exposed to Westernization indirectly through Japan.

Geographical relationships change with the times, shifts in the power of empire, and changes in trade. To the late nineteenth century observer, and indeed to the twentieth as well, Okinawa seemed one of the most isolated and unexplored spots in a part of the world which had been known to the West for centuries. This isolation was more a product of history than of geography. "Each year," wrote William Furness in 1897, "finds the Luchu Islands more and more important, commercially, to the Japanese government, although as yet, they are but little known to the busy world which sails past them to and from the markets of China, Japan, and the Far East."[1] Yet, from the middle of the fourteenth to the second half of the sixteenth century, Naha in Okinawa was a port of call in a trade route which included Korea, Japan, Siam, and Malaya. Malacca was the central port of this trade. It has been estimated that there were at least forty-four voyages out of Naha to these lands in the 138 year period from 1432 to 1570.[2]

1 William H. Furness III, Life in the Luchu Islands. Bulletin of the Free Museum of Science and Art of the University of Pennsylvania, 2 (1899), 1.

2 This trade will be discussed further in the next chapter with sources cited there.

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175
648 This nineteenth century conception of the Ryukyus as remote and isolated islands in a part of the world in which travel and trade had reached a high degree of development continued unabated to the beginning of the war in the Pacific. The reasons were entirely political. The Ryukyus were part of that walling off process which characterized Japan's policy and strategy toward its island mandates and possessions since the end of the first world war. Okinawa might well have become, as some of the English and American explorers of the nineteenth century hoped, a crossroads of importance in world trade. If it had, it would only have repeated a role it played centuries before.

Since the invasion of 1945, worldwide political realignments have given it a new, and perhaps its most important significance. Its general geography has remained the same. It is the history since the war, and the shaping of ideologies that have brought about this change. Before 1945, Okinawa was regarded by the Japanese as the outer fort and protector of the home islands; during the war, it became the important strategic spot, from the American point of view, for the contemplated invasion of Japan. With the Korean war, it has been transformed from a small outlier in the Pacific to an important strategic center off the Asiatic mainland.

2

Regional Differences in Okinawa Island[3]

131
133 Okinawa, the largest of the islands in the Ryukyu chain, is about 485 square miles in area, 510 including its offshore islands, such as the Keram

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114 3 A cultural geography of Okinawa is a real desideratum. But this is outside the scope of this work. Many materials have been brought together in memoranda, published and unpublished, surveys and the like, since the close of the war and the beginning of the American occupation. Lacking a newer synthesis, it seemed foolish to lengthen this report by merely repeating the published materials already available. The intention in this chapter is merely to indicate some of the general considerations helpful in understanding the history of the island and of contemporary life in the villages described. For the pre-war
114 geographical materials see Civil Affairs Handbook, Ryukyu (Loo-choo)
113 Islands, OPNAV 3-13, 3-38, the sections on geography and resources, and passim. Interesting information regarding local geography is scattered through the pages of Okinawa, The Last Battle, and for a general statement, see pp. 7-14. See also Walter R. Hacker's chapter on the Kurils and the Ryukyus in Geography of the Pacific, edited by Otis Freeman, New York and London, 1951, and M. Y. Nuttonson, Ecological Crop Geography and Field Practices of the Ryukyu Islands..., 11-58. For the geology, see, the CA Handbook, 11-12, Nuttonson, 29-36, and Engineering Geology, Okinawa (Prepared by Military Geology Branch US Geological Survey for Intelligence Division Office of the Engineer, GHQ, FEC, April 1951). This contains an Engineering Geology map of the island. For general relationships in this area see Trewartha, Glenn. T. Japan. A Physical, Cultural, and Regional Geography, v-ix, 3-4, and the map on the arcs and nodes, 8.

of Okinawan prehistory will probably depend on research throughout a wide area and on the comparison and collation of discoveries already made in western Japan, south Korea, Quelpart Island, the Shantung peninsula, the Ryukyu Islands, Formosa, and China, particularly concerning the role of Fukien province in later times, to say nothing of determining the sources and routes of influences from southeastern Asia on Japan and the Ryukyus. Links with Polynesia and Hawaii have been suggested. Obviously present day political conditions are unfavorable for this type of inquiry.

The suppositions of which we have been speaking have led to the belief that the Ryukyu people, like the Japanese, are composed of the North Mongoloid, South Mongoloid or Malayan, and the Ainu type, but that the proportions are different, since there seem to be larger elements of the Malayan and Ainu types in the Ryukyu Islands. Whether these reconstructions are correct or not, the significant fact is that the islands owed their peopling to migration and invasion, and that culture mixture and contact is of very ancient origin.[2]

The Ryukyuan creation myth is a crystallization of ideas that must have been long dominant at the time they were recorded. There are two versions of this myth, one simple, the other, as Spencer points out, more complex and probably reflecting the influence of new and foreign ideas. The first of these versions appears in Ryukyu Shindoki, written about 1603 A.D., the second in the Kyu Yo, a Chinese translation of a work by Hanaji Tomohide entitled Chusan Seikan (1650).[3]

[Text Continues Top of P. 28--Analyst]

2 Bishop, C. W. The historical geography of early Japan. Geo. Rev. 13 (1923), 40-63. See also this author's, The geographical factor in the development of Chinese civilization. Geo. Rev. 12 (1922), 19-41. For a recapitulation of the theories regarding the peopling of the Ryukyus, see Marshall T. Newman and Roman L. English, The Ryukyuan people: a biological appraisal. Amer. Journ. of Physical Anthropology, 5 (1947), 114-24, and Binkenstein, R. Okinawa-Studien. Monumenta Nipponica, 3(1940), 196 ff. and the literature there cited. Chamberlain's ideas are summarized in The Luchu islands and their inhabitants. Geo. Journ. 5 (1895), 316-19. R. S. Spencer, The Noro, or priestesses of Loo Choo, Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan. 2d Series. 8 (1931), 94-112, especially p. 94. For a recapitulation of Ryukyuan history, see C. A. Handbook, as cited, 13-31 and John R. Potter, A Preface to Liu Ch'iuan history: an analysis of the basis for establishing a United Nation's Trusteeship. (Unpublished Master's Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1948. Leavenworth, Charles S. The Loochoo Islands. Shanghai, 1905.

3 This discussion is based on the article by Spencer cited above. Partial translations of the myths from the sources are reproduced here. See also Binkenstein, Okinawa-Studien, as cited, 198.

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In the first version, a male person (Shinerikyu) and a female person (Amamikyu) descended from Heaven. Amamikyu without sexual intercourse gave birth to three children: the first son became the first ruler; the first daughter, the first priestess; and the second son, the first farmer.

In the second version, the male and female deities gave birth to a child. "They carried stones and earth to the edge of the sea and planted trees to keep back the waves." Mountains and forests thus made, "mankind sprung up." Knowledge was attained and one person divided mankind into classes. This man, Tenteishi, had five children: Tensonshi, the first son and first ruler; the second son, the first noble (ansu); the third son, the first farmer. The eldest daughter became the first kikoe-oh-gimi who later headed the institutionalized noro religious system. The second daughter became the first priestess (noro).

The dynasty established by Tensonshi, according to tradition, lasted for twenty-five generations, 17,802 years, or until 1187 A. D. During this period, Okinawa was divided into three districts (magiri), Kunchan in the north, Nakagami in the center and Shimajiri in the south, divisions which remain to this day.[4] The districts were divided into mura or townships. "Wheat and millet were raised at Kutaka /a name of a magiri/ and rice was grown at Chinen and Tamagusuku."[5] There is reason to believe that Tensonshi dynasty had its greatest control over what would now be the area of Naha, Shuri, Tamagusuku township, and the Chinen peninsula area.

In both myths, a female priesthood, as Spencer points out, is placed at the very beginning of Ryukyuan history. A king, lesser nobles, a female priesthood, and farmers were the basis of the culture.

3

Events of the Early Historical Period

Not enough is known of the early historical contacts between the Great Loochoo and the Chinese and Japanese to warrant any conclusions regarding influences which these countries could have exerted.

Chinese punitive expeditions took place in the early seventh century A. D., but the consensus of opinion is that the invasion of Great Loochoo resulted in no prolonged cultural contact or influence. Some Japanese

[Text continues on p. 29--Analyst]

4 Chamberlain, The Luchu Islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 306.

5 Leavenworth, Charles S. The Loochoo islands, 15. Quotation is from the manuscript history translated by Leavenworth, ibid, 77.

contact with Okinawa may have taken place in 743 A.D., but this may have been confined to the island of Kume, west of Naha, and not involved Okinawa itself.[6] 175 177 648

The modern Japanese contact with Okinawa which brought about the fall of the Tenson dynasty is associated with the arrival at Unten of Tametomo in the latter part of the twelfth century. Some have regarded this as historical, others as perhaps legendary.

Unten, on the Motobu peninsula, is one of the important places in the historical geography of Okinawa island. This is the Port Melville of the Western explorers, Hall and Perry, both of whom charted the bay and its harbor.

Tametomo, of the Minemoto clan, exiled after the final defeat of the Minemoto by the Taira clan in Japan, ultimately reached Unten and there married the daughter of one of the regional nobles, and after a period of civil war, the Tenson dynasty collapsed. In 1187 A. D., the son of Minemoto Tametomo by his Okinawan wife became King Shunten. Shunten, the first of three "Japanese kings," was followed by his son Shunsa Junki (1238-1248), and his grandson Gihon (1249-1260). In 1260, the legitimate dynasty was restored under king Eiso.[7]

After his succession, Eiso toured the islands and is credited with setting regular boundaries to rice-fields. "It has been said that this greatly attracted the people so that they started to look after farming." Graves, according to a manuscript history, were first built in the island, at Urasoye, and the Buddhist temple, Gokurakuji was constructed with an officiating priest named Jenkan in charge of the temple.[8] 064 346

The Japanese syllabary may have been introduced at this time. Buddhism apparently did not take hold. Chinese attacks on the islands in connection with the Mongol wars and the attempted invasion of Japan seem to have left no mark on the island. 010 099

The year 1372 is the beginning of the period of relationships with the Chinese, in this case, the Ming dynasty. This is contemporary with the growth of a vast trade network involving Korea, Japan, China, the Ryukyus, and Southeast Asia. It is not clear whether the trade voyages under King Satsudo (reigned 1350-1399) to South China, Malaya, and the Philippines were instrumental in stimulating the Ming dynasty to engage in the Pacific trade, or whether the forced alliance of the Ryukyus with the Chinese 175 648 439

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP of P. 30--Analyst]

6 CA Handbook, as cited, 41, and Chamberlain, as cited, 306.

7 Chamberlain, as cited, 308

8 Manuscript history in Leavenworth, The Loochoo islands, 80. On the Japanese syllabary, see Chamberlain, as cited, 308.

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empire provided the incentive. The central district of Okinawa became an entrepot in the triangular China-Ryukyuan-Japan trade. In the beginning the cultural interchange was a consequence of sending Chinese ambassadors to assist in the investiture of Ryukyuan kings and the travels of Ryukyuan emissaries to Peking. Naha in Okinawa and Foochow in Fukien were ports of entry and exit for the travellers.

The Ryukyuan emissaries left Naha for Foochow on the Min river in Fukien and then began the trip north to Peking. Ryukyuans brought copper, tin, and sulphur and received brocades and silk in return. The Ryukyuan as well as ambassadors from Korea, Annam, Burma participated in this official reception at Peking.[9]

The first contact with Chinese learning has been dated at 1392, when the son of the king and the son of his master of camp were allowed to attend the Imperial College. The usual route from Naha to Foochow became a cultural corridor joining China and Okinawa. This contact with Chinese learning and writing lasted until the Japanese annexation in 1879. Hall in 1816 and Perry's staff in 1853 mentioned the devotion among the higher classes to Chinese learning, and though this no doubt was confined to those residing in Naha and Shuri, it was this Chinese educated class that ruled the island. With this learning too, there came the ideals of the Confucian state and its five relationships, parent-child, husband-wife, friend-friend, younger brother-elder brother, and subject-sovereign, which were reflected so forcefully in the family system and in the state as well. This coloring of the whole government, composed of men with Confucian ideals gradually changed, says Spencer, following Iha, "the whole mental outlook of the male population, at least around Shuri. This would, perhaps, not extend inland, and was not given to the women." In the countryside the influence of women, through the noro system, was still strong. This Confucian ideal of the state, as Spencer and Iha have suggested, probably had a great deal to do with the dis-establishment of the noro system as a state religion in the seventeenth century.[10]

In the reign of Sho Shin (1477-1526), there were further foreign contacts and domestic consolidations. Buddhism was encouraged and in fact reintroduced, this time from Korea. The Okinawans requested from their Korean "suzerain" the sutras, the Buddhist canon, and religious objects in 1462, 1479, and 1483.[11] Chinese artifacts, books, and other articles were imported, and palaces on the Chinese model were constructed at Shuri. Chinese customs, dress by rank order, and the Confucian ideal of the state became part of the culture of Naha and Shuri, probably less so in the other parts of Okinawa.

[Text continues on top of P. 31--Analyst]

9 Binkenstein, Okinawa-Studien. Monumenta Nipponica 3 (1940), 201-02. Binkenstein, Zur Frage der Ryūkyū Gesandtschaften. Monumenta Nipponica 4 (1941), 264-67. For the route to Peking, see p. 266.

10 Spencer, as cited, 108-09. Quotation is on p. 108.

11 Haguenauer, Relations du royaume des Ryūkyū avec les pays des mers du sud et la Corée. Bulletin de la maison franco-Japonaise. Série française. T 3, No. 1-2. Comptes rendues, 114.

These foreign introductions were accompanied with the reinforcement of a native institution: the elevation of the female priesthood to what amounted to a state religion. This institutionalising of a native religion did not mean the exclusion of foreign religions or foreign ideas. The king used the noro system to bind his realm together; at the same time, he reintroduced Buddhism, himself becoming an adherent. The priestess of the Sho household, that is the royal house, was removed "to a place without the palace, but near the main gateway" of the palace at Shuri, signifying the closeness of the chief priestess to the royal house, the extension of the system to all the islands, and the centralization, both of religious and political life. Political institutions, borrowed from China and in a Confucian mold, with the dominance of the male in the family and in the government, now existed side by side with the hierarchy of priestesses whose power rested not only on royal patronage but on an economic security whose basis was ownership in land. With the passage of time, it was the order of priestesses that gave way to the male dominated Confucian ideal. This Confucian idea of the state, a combination of the individual morality of Confucius with the ideas of statecraft of the legists developed in the Han dynasty, retained its hold until the Japanese did away with the monarchy.[12]

The new government with its capital at Shuri, a port at Naha, a royal granary at Kuno, and the town of Tomari, was rigidly departmentalised along Chinese lines.[13]

The Ryukyuan kingdom, from the middle of the fourteenth to the second half of the sixteenth century was part of a great trade network. This included the Great Loochoo, Korea, Japan, China, Siam, and with the port of Malacca as the center of the trade. The normal route was from Naha[14] along the coast of Fukien province, stopping at Foochow, up from the mouth of the Min River, along the coast of the Campa (modern Indo-China), thence to Malacca. From here, it was possible to trade with the islands of the Sunda (Java) seas, Siam, and with the province of Pataai on the east coast of the Malay peninsula, south of the isthmus of Kra. From Naha, the products of Japan, Korea, and Central China were brought to Malacca; from Malacca, essences, various woods, pepper, sugar, ivory, and articles of Portugese and Arab manufacture were brought north. The various traders brought back to the Great Loochoo Chinese money, Ming porcelains, and silks of south China. There were Korean, Chinese, and Japanese colonies

[Text Continues TOP of P. 32--analyst]

12 Spencer, as cited, 103. On the role of the legists in political Confucianism in China, see Fitzgerald, China: a cultural history, 103-04,156.

13. For interesting details, see CA Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands, 103.

14 The age of Naha, I believe, is unknown. Under King Satsudo in the late fourteenth century, and in the period of trade of which we are speaking, Naha had a sudden expansion. There were three channels into the harbor, the northern "Yamatoguchi," used by the Japanese, a center one, "Karefuneguchi" (literally Chinese ship terminus (mouth)), and a "Miyakoguchi", the south channel which was used by the ships engaged in trade with the Sakishima group. Simon, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 36.

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at Naha, and junks from the south seas touched at that port. Loochooans in this manner became known to the Portugese.[15]

Political relationships with countries other than China had accompanied this trade. Following the establishment of relations with China in 1372, there were contacts with Korea in 1389 when the woods from the southeastern trade, paper, and other articles originating in Indo-China and the East Indies were presented by King Satsudo of the Ryukyus to the Korean court. These relations with Korea were renewed in 1392 under the new Yi dynasty. The usual route north was from Naha to Hakata in Kyūshū to the Korean port of Pusan on the southeast coast, thence overland to the capital city of Seoul. Relationships between the two peoples finally broke off in 1500, although Koreans actually were settled in Okinawa and some were evacuated in 1574.

This was therefore a period of considerable cultural contact with China, Japan, Korea, and with the countries of Southeast Asia, and indirectly with the arts and manufacture of the Mahomedan world and of the Portugese in the crossroads port of Malacca.

This lively and important trade was brought to an end through three situations: the existence of Japanese pirates, necessitating, at a period toward the close of the era, hiring Japanese Buddhist priests as ambassadors and cargo protectors, (2) the appearance of the Portugese in the East China Sea, and around 1542 at Tanegashima, one of the northern islands of the Ryukyus southeast of Kyūshū, and (3) the maritime expansion of Japan in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the coup de grace to the Ryukyuan trade.

It is likely that many of these outside contacts, even up to the end of the nineteenth century, really affected Naha and Shuri, and that the rural areas were essentially unchanged. This would mean that the two cities had a culture revealing a strong Chinese influence, but also of Japan and perhaps indirectly of other nations, while the rural areas languished in the older elements of the folk culture, such as the priesthood dominated by women. Other facts which will be brought out in the chapters to which they belong tend to substantiate this interpretation that we cannot speak simply of a homogeneous Okinawan culture.

The conquest of the islands by the Japanese in 1609 was a consequence of the growing trade that had developed with Japan, first with the Shogunate, later, more specifically, with the Satsuma clan. Ultimately the Satsuma clan succeeded in displacing the Shogunate in the Loochoo trade and with the conquest of 1609 the kingdom came under Satsuma influence,

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15 On this trade, which is much too complex to treat in a short summary, see Haguenauer, as cited, 4-16. Much new material appeared in two articles by R. Binkenstein, Zur Frage der Ryūkyū Gesandtschaften, Monumenta Nipponica, 4(1941), 256-69, and Die Ryūkyū-Expedition unter Shimazu Iehisa, ibid, 622-28.

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Amami Oshima and the northern islands being directly ceded, the others agreeing to vassalage. 175 648

From this time until the seventh decade of the nineteenth century, the Ryukyu kingdom existed, acknowledging both suzerainty of China and vassalage to Satsuma in a twilight of sovereignty which statecraft and the political realities of the time did not find it necessary to resolve.

During this period of contact with other countries, an intrusion of an entirely different order, but what must have been of revolutionary consequence, was the introduction of the sweet potato in 1605. "In the 10th year /1605/ Noguni Tsunkwan imported sweet potatoes from China. Mashiki Oima Uyakata Shinjo obtaining them, planted them in the fields, and in a few years they were raised all over the islands."[16] In view of the widespread reluctance of peoples to adopt new foods, the swift acceptance of the sweet potato is noteworthy. It must have furnished the means of subsistence for a much greater population. The topography, the soils, the fewness of valleys, alluvial plains, and marsh land could not have permitted the growth of rice to feed great masses of people as in China and Japan. This dependence on the sweet potato has persisted to this day. Modern accounts mention the reliance of the ordinary Okinawan on the sweet potato, and in times of stress on the sago palm, or cycad. Rice is seldom if ever mentioned as the food of the common people.

Scarcely had the sweet potato reached Okinawa, when it was carried to Japan. At first it was known as the kara-imu (Okinawan) or Karaimo (Japanese), that is the Chinese potato. When it reached Satsuma in Kyūshū, it became known as the Luchuan potato; as it spread northward and eastward in Japan, the Japanese, believing the plant to be a native of southern Japan, called it the Satsuma potato (satsuma imo), and it is by this last name that the sweet potato is known in Okinawa to this day.[17]

4

Inertia from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Centuries

175 178

The period 1609 to 1871, when the Japanese took their initial steps toward the eventual incorporation of the island of Okinawa within the empire, was a quiescent one, continuing a pattern of life already set. The ideals of the Confucian state were strong. In the 17th century, it [642]

16 Quoted from a manuscript history in C. S. Leavenworth, The history of the Loochoo Islands, 88. "Native historians," says Chamberlain, "inform us that it was acclimatized in Luchu and passed into common use within the short period of four years after its first introduction." No further sources are given. Chamberlain, as cited, 302.

17 On the fortunes of the sweet potato in Japan, see Rein, The industries of Japan, London, 1889, 65.

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succeeded in shearing the noro system of much of its political power. During the early part of the 18th century, there was an improvement in agricultural methods and in forestry conservation, associated with the name of the statesman, Hozui Saion (1682-1761).[18] Saion was a descendant of a Chinese who had settled at Kume near Naha. He is said to have planted several kinds of trees, including the pine, the Japanese redwood (sugi), and the maki (in Japanese; podocarpus ssp.) Saion is well remembered in Okinawa. In Matsuda, I was shown trees which were said to have been planted along the road to Ginoza during Saion's lifetime and at his inspiration. There are stories told in the forest areas like Matsuda, crediting Saion with intentionally inventing superstitions to prevent people from cutting down the trees. In 1951, a Saion commemorative stamp was issued, and his name is used frequently in forest conservation literature and in posters. Whether Saion was the medium through which agricultural techniques of Japan or China were introduced, or whether these improvements came from his own initiative and study of local conditions, I have been unable to determine. In any case, the teachings of Saion on agriculture and forestry must have reached to the rural areas, improving the agricultural possibilities and encouraging planting trees and preserving the forests, constantly subject to destruction through fire, carelessness, and merciless cutting for firewood, as has been the case in many parts of China. These improvements, with the advantages from the introduction of the sweet potato one hundred years earlier, took place within the framework of a political and social and religious system that had now been well established.

5

European Awareness of the Great Loochoo

The Loochooans were known to the Portugese through the trade centering at Malacca. The Portugese explorer Pinto had visited Tanegashima around 1542. Captain Broughton had been shipwrecked on Miyako to the south in 1798. But the western exploration of Okinawa itself was reserved for later times. During the nineteenth century, the Europeans, then the Americans, became aware of the people of the Great Loochoo.

The first detailed observations based on personal contact date from the works of Captain Basil Hall, and his surgeon, William M'Leod, who

[Text continues top of P. 35--Analyst]

18 In the manuscript history reproduced by Leavenworth, there is this passage: "In the 20th year of Kyoho [1735], Hozui Saion fixed a system for the protection of forestry, and a forestry office and shipping office were established." Op. cit., 89. Saion's famous work, Eight Volumes of Forest Administration, I am told was destroyed in the war. Chamberlain, as cited, p. 310, says that Loochooan polity in the 17th century crystallized in a form it wore from then on.

had been directed by the British government, at the conclusion of the Napoleonic wars, to discover and chart waters and routes in the Far East, especially along the China shore. 175 648

Hall found in Okinawa a people who knew nothing of the English or the French. They were acquainted only with the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Koreans. The Okinawans of his day apparently had forgotten any memories of their seafaring in the centuries, and this ignorance of their neighbors was reciprocated by the Filipinos.[19]

Halls book describing his journey along the west coast of Korea and to the Great Loochoo, with its engravings and a vocabulary of Loochooan words, is written with spirit and great charm.

Hall's and M'Leod's accounts were very favorable to the Okinawans. They describe an honest, peace loving, unworried people, with neither money nor arms, kindly and hospitable, without guile. According to him, they were gentle and kind, secure within the classes in which their society was organized (and the social distinctions that went with it), adhering with tenacity to their own customs, gracious to those of others, an island of quiet beauty, fertility, and repose. In the manner of the voyages and travels of the times, there are wisps of information about many things, exhaustive accounts of none. Hall described the agriculture, the square plots of rice fields divided from one another by small banks of earth, the picturesque villages with their hedges, arbors, and the creepers over the bamboo, the dress according to rank, the casual attitude toward religion, domestic animals, the lack of carts and wheeled vehicles, the horseshoe tombs, and the tattooing, not of the women, but of the fishermen. [181]

Considering the difficulties Hall and his men had in landing, the endless importunity and cajolery required to get permission to walk along a village road, for the Okinawans were willing to feed, provision and entertain the travellers but were in no mood for guided tours, he has much of interest to record of the island and its people. The expedition travelled around the southeastern and eastern part of the island, made a poor map of the Great Loochoo, and named the town of Unten--called by him Conching or Winching--Port Melville, after the first lord of the Admiralty.

M'Leod's book covered much the same ground. He wrote also of the priestesses (the noros), of the irrigation systems, the Loochooans' lack of money, their use of ginseng, and mentioned the extensive forests.

[Text Continues on Top of P. 36--Analyst]

19 Hall, Voyage to Corea and the Great Lew Chew, 184: "At Manilla /sic/ we found that the Great Loo-choo Island was known only by name. There appeared to be no intercourse between the two places." Page 184, footnote. There was some memory of Broughton's shipwreck on Miyako.

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In April 1844, the French corvette Alcemène landed at Naha to open up negotiations for trade with France. The local official protested to the French commander that the islands were sterile, provided only a little rice, had no gold, copper, or iron, and that from antiquity they had engaged in a modest trade in rice with the neighboring islands, if drought or floods did not interfere. He implored the French not to land because of the unhealthy climate. The French response was gracious, but a landing was made and a friendly interchange followed. This visit was the beginning of the French missionary effort in the Ryukyus.[20]

Belcher's Narrative of the Voyage of H. M. S. Samarang (1848) describes some explorations in Okinawa, but his materials for this island are disappointing.

These earlier travellers generally concerned themselves with casual observations, as they came to the eye, on such subjects as marriage and burial customs, hairdress, religion, and clothing, but on the less colorful and more commonplace but just as important subjects as the family system, land tenure, and land use there is virtually no mention.

The Perry expedition, which first arrived at Okinawa and anchored at the port of Naha on May 26, 1853, made outstanding contributions.[21] The expedition explored large parts of the island. Previous observers had only touched the coasts or described the areas around Naha and Shuri and Unten. A series of technical papers on such subjects as agriculture, ethnology, and plant and animal life were prepared. Observations were made of court, town, and everyday village life. It is the last document, based on personal observations and exploration, and written from a modern point of view, which appeared before the Japanese formally took over the island and introduced the changes in the last two decades of the century that were to affect the daily life both of the villages and towns and alter the culture fundamentally.

The land explorations of the Perry expedition, as far as can be determined from the various place names and landmarks which in the account can be identified, included the south, the central, and parts bordering on the northern district of Kunigami. The exploration started from the home of the unhappy Dr. Bettelheim, a converted Jew and the resident missionary in Naha. Bettelheim told the members of the party what he knew of the language, Okinawan knowledge of arms and of money, and of their religion. From Naha, the explorers went to Tumai, subsequent

[Text continues TOP of P. 39 - analyst]

20 Cordier, Henri. Les français aux îles Liéou K'ieou. Mélanges d'histoire et de géographie orientales. Tome 1, 296-317.

21 See Hawk's Narrative of the Expedition, especially Vol. I, chapters 7-9, 11, and 17, and Vol. II which contains the specialized articles on various aspects of the exploration. See table of contents for the Loochoo articles.

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a suburb of Naha, thence to Shuri. They turned north, passed the ancient fortress of Nakagusuku, went over to the east coast, proceeding to the vicinity of Kanna. In Matsuda, which the exploring party apparently did not reach, there is still a story about Perry's expedition. It concerns a carving on stone placed on the top of a dramatically shaped rock on the seashore. According to local residents, this carving remained in place until it was shot off by an American soldier during the war.

Roughly around Kanna, the party crossed the island to the South China Sea or western side, and reached the village of Un-na (modern Onna), an engraving of which appears in the narrative and also in Bayard Taylor's India, China, and Japan. The return trip was down the coast, and the road led through Hachinato back to Naha. Coastal explorations were extensive. A new chart was an immense improvement over Hall's. Special attention was given to the Unten (Port Melville) and Shah Bay (Miyagishima and the area south of Ogimi).

Bayard Taylor, the famous traveller who had joined the expedition and wrote parts of the narrative, spoke of the interior of Okinawa in 1853 as a "terra incognita," and he was not exaggerating as far as Western knowledge was concerned.[22] This probably applied to the Japanese as well, for their stations were in Naha and an administrator or scholar of the Tokugawa era probably found little in agriculture, plant life, land tenure, and local history and ethnography to interest him.[23]

[240]

Upland agriculture, the hoeing of sweet potatoes, the planting and transplanting of rice, the manufacture of sugar were described much as they can be observed to this day in parts of Okinawa. They noted a sameness and a lack of variety in plant life, the planting of pines along the highways, the fences used as protection against the wild boar. The communal land system was remarked upon, the writers thinking it a "metayer system," that is a form of share-cropping in which the proprietor of the land and the cultivator receive equal, or agreed upon proportions. They described houses built on small stilts, the compounds, and the village granaries. They strolled through villages, poked their heads into huts, and wrote about the utensils in the kitchens. They theorized about the possible origins of the people and their connections with other races, discovered lingams which were interpreted as the ruins of "ancient Hindoo idolatry." They spoke of the glossy upswept hair and the hair pins according to rank.

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The village granaries are gone; so has the land system and the costumes, and the long swept up hair of both sexes. Agricultural techniques and the care of the land have remained.

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[Text Continues Top of P. 38--Analyst]

22 See Bayard Taylor's A visit to India, China, and Japan, in the year 1853. Chapters 30, 33, 36.

23 In the early 17th century the Japanese explored the island, took a census, and reorganized political administration. CA Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands, 40.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

●195 This last document, written prior to the complete absorption of Okinawa into the Japanese social and political system is still worth careful study. The conditions it describes were probably true for the ensuing thirty or forty years. It is a last glimpse of a culture before being exposed to Western influences indirectly through the Westernization of Japan, which was then just beginning. The Okinawa of 1853 was a terra incognita, but the intervening years have brought many new changes and circumstances throughout the world, and the terra incognita of one age has become a household word of another.

6

Okinawa Island, the Capital of a New Japanese Province

195 One might well ask why the Japanese changes beginning in the latter part of the nineteenth century were so revolutionary, when Japan had exercised an influence in the twilight zone of sovereignty over the islands with China since the early seventeenth century. The answer, I think, is that in the earlier period, Japanese influence was confined largely to the upper level of government, particularly to the handling of foreign relations and trade, and to supervising any contacts between the Okinawans and the Western nations. The members of Perry's expedition mention that there was spying everywhere and that these spies were Japanese in Loochooan dress, an observation about internal espionage not made by Hall about forty years earlier, though it existed from the Japanese conquest of the seventeenth century.

195 After the Japanese made the Okinawan king a Japanese marquis, their influence, though gradual, reached down into the masses of the people. A systematic effort was made to replace the old life with the new Japanese ideas, themselves a compound of traditional practices and innovations derived from the west.

Although the Ryukyuan monarchy was restricted in 1871, the prefecture was not actually established until 1879. But the cultural domination of the islands, as distinct from political and police control, must be dated, inexactly, later. The readiness of Okinawans to abandon Chinese customs and to accept Japanese customs seems to have increased after the success of the Japanese in the sino-Japanese war of 1894-95. After the war, the former king of the islands cut his hair, a symbol of acceptance of a more modern way of doing things.

In this period, whether we date it from 1871, 1879, or 1894-95, to the beginning of World War II in Asia, the Japanese made several fundamental changes in Okinawan society. These early changes coincided also with a period in which the Japanese were most hospitable to Western influences. The changes within Japan ranged from the reorganization of the government, a new educational system, the inauguration of a Western calendar, the establishment of post offices and telegraphs to crases and

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

fads of Western inspiration. Vaccination, the calendar, European dress for officials, photography, edicts against long hair belong to the late 1870's. Chamberlain has spoken of the years 1885-87 as the "years of the great foreign fever."[24] Japan was the medium through which Western ideas were brought to bear on the old Okinawan culture. This new intrusion, indirectly set off both by the Perry expedition and the determination of the Japanese to change their own country, was modern Japan, compounded of traditional and Western ideas. When we speak of the "Japanization" of the islands, we must remember that some of this is also Westernization.

Foremost among these changes was the introduction of the new Japanese education. Education came to the rural areas and provided the basis, as in Japan, for mass literacy. This was not an easy task. Nor was it accomplished at once. Chamberlain in 1895 tells of the signs at the entrance to each village, giving the population, the number of children of school age and the number of children actually attending school, a "device not used in Japan itself, but resorted to here with the object of shaming parents into sending their children to school. To get the girls sent there has been found very difficult--the Further Isles almost impossible." The extent of this change can be appreciated by Chamberlain's further remark that few outside of Naha understood Japanese, and that the language was taught the first year so that it could be used later in instruction in other subjects.[25] Before World War II, as now, Japanese was spoken and understood by all, except the very old, the Japanese language existing side by side with Okinawan which remained the language of children, intimates, and of the village. The adoption of Japanese dress, the cutting of the hair, the learning of the Japanese language were the avenues to official employment.

Another great change was the abolition of the old system of land tenure, something we shall dwell upon at length later. By a series of laws over the period 1899-1903, the old system of village communal ownership with a periodic distribution of the rice lands and the dry crop land was abolished and private ownership and inheritance of land were instituted. The abolition of the old land allotment system must have changed the aspect of the villages, for village-owned granaries, were part of the central area of a village.[26] This change in land tenure, as Spencer has suggested, contributed to the further economic decline of the native religion of the noro priestesses whose lands, still retained, were now subject to different laws of inheritance.[27]

[TEXT CONTINUES ON TOP OF P. 40 — Analyst]

24 Basil Hall Chamberlain. Things Japanese, 238. See his comments on "fashionable crazes," 155-57.

25 The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 457-58. Chamberlain adds, page 457, an interesting table showing school attendance by district which indicated that eligibles going to school were in a distinct minority.

26 Hawks, Perry's Expedition to Japan, as cited, I, 314; II, 34.

27 The Noro, or priestesses of Loo-choo, as cited, 109. This is an interesting example of the relation of an old religion to economic changes brought about by a revolution in land tenure induced from above.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Another departure from the past was that Okinawans, soon after the turn of the century, were provided with opportunities for emigration. The history of Okinawan emigration is not well known. But in the twentieth century, the people of Okinawa changed from an almost complete ignorance of the outside world to one of the most widely travelled and informed peoples of the Orient. Okinawan settlements in the twentieth century were scattered in many parts of the world, such as Peru, Argentina, Brazil, Hawaii, and the Japanese mandates of the Pacific, Singapore, Japan, Manchuria, and Korea. The cessation of this historic emigration is an event pregnant with meaning for the future. The population and its natural increase now must subsist on the island.

Late nineteenth and twentieth century improvements in roads and communication, modest as they were by American standards, broke down some of the isolation of the three districts of Okinawa. The forests and the lack of roads to the north had always discouraged contact. Much of the trade in firewood between the north and the south, even up to the recent war, was done by ship. Elsewhere there were only paths and in the north, not even these. In 1895 Chamberlain wrote of the sparsely inhabited northern (Kunigami) forest area whose inhabitants were "despised for their poverty and rough speech by the natives of the central and southern provinces." Later on he remarked about the "groans of Japanese officials when obliged to go their country rounds," and, that, in the north it was necessary for them to carry a tent.[28]

As the main island in the newly created province (ken) of Japan, Okinawa benefitted from the scientific approach to agronomy pursued enthusiastically by the Japanese, in contrast with the Chinese and the Koreans before their annexation. Concentration on the development of suitable varieties of rice, the study of sugar cane, plant disease and agricultural techniques represented a body of knowledge that could be applied with local adaptations to all parts of the empire.

Direct Japanese annexation meant also the disappearance of the top heavy native nobility or gentry (shizoku) to be displaced by the Japanese elite, although membership in the Okinawan nobility continued to be recorded in the family registers up to the recent war. The displacement of the old higher social classes resulted in a certain levelling of all the people, a levelling which continued up to the war, and was accentuated in an economic way by the widespread impoverishment of rich and poor alike in the campaign for Okinawa.

7

Okinawa in World War II

The terra incognita described by Bayard Taylor in 1853 became the

28 Chamberlain, as cited, 294, 459

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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scene of the final campaign of World War II. American landings were made on the Kerama Islands, about 15 miles west of Okinawa on March 26, 1945. By March 29, they had been conquered. The occupation of Keise Island, about eight miles west of Naha, followed soon after.

Plans for the invasion of Okinawa were centered on two areas, the Higashi beaches north of Naha, and the Minatogawa beaches in the southeastern part of the island. The Higashi beaches were finally chosen. On April 1, the invasion began with a simultaneous feint landing above Minatogawa. The invasion was immediately successful, and by the second of April, the American force had patrols on Nakagusuku Bay and occupied the highlands in its vicinity. American troops, athwart the island, had effectively cut it in two. Thenceforth, the main fighting was in the south. The Japanese forces had also been divided.

By the 4th of April, the United States Tenth Army held an area 15 miles long and from three to ten miles wide. The Japanese plan was to concentrate the defences around and north of the ancient capital of Shuri, with the other principal defenses at Naha, Yonabaru on Nakagusuku (Buckner) Bay. The initial fighting was concerned with American attacks on outposts to the north of the Shuri defense area, and with severe and unsuccessful counter-attacks by the Japanese.[29]

While the attacks on the Shuri defenses were going on, the Motobu peninsula, extending westward above Nago, was cut off and conquered on April 16-18. Ie Shima fell after the attacks of the 16th and 17th, and was declared secure on the 21st of April. In the south, the "Shuri defense ring," was breached between April 19 and April 24. "If any doubt remained about the kind of fighting that lay ahead before Okinawa could be won, it was dissipated by the heavy combat and high casualities experienced from 19 to 24 April in penetrating the first main ring of the Shuri defense zone."

General Buckner, however, rejected a proposed second landing on the Minatogawa beaches because of the difficulties in supply. In the 2nd Shuri defense ring, the Maeda escarpment was captured and a Japanese counteroffensive failed. The Americans were able to make an opening to the east of the Shuri line and thus could penetrate into south Okinawa. "At the end of the third week of May the fighting had penetrated to the inner ring of the Shuri defenses." Toward the end of May, two circumstances were clear: "Most of the big prizes--the port of Naha, the big anchorage of Nakagusuku Bay, Yonabaru, Shuri,

29 Appleman, Roy E., Burns, James M., Gugeler, Russell A., and Stevens, John. Okinawa, the last battle. (U.S.Army in World War II. Historical Division, Dept. of the Army). Washington, 1948. 51-52, 57, 68, 74, 76-77, 83, 93, 125ff.

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Naha airfield, and the flat coastal ground of Southern Okinawa were still effectively denied to the Americans, long after they had expected to capture them. / By the end of May, however, the flower of General Ushijima's forces on Okinawa had been destroyed."[30]

As American pressure continued, the Japanese command could choose between staying at Shuri, retreating south, or retreating to the Chinen peninsula. The second of these was chosen. The retreat of Japanese soldiers, dressed as civilians, from Shuri is believed to have started on May 22. The ruse was discovered by the Americans on the 30th; Japanese headquarters left Shuri castle around May 29, and by May 31, the destroyed capital was occupied.[31]

After the fall of Shuri, for the Americans the campaign became a task of pushing the Japanese into the sea, and, for the Japanese, one of exacting as many casualties as possible in a struggle the Japanese commander realized to be hopeless.

In the conquest of the south of Okinawa, Minatogawa, one of the villages studied in this report, became a forward unloading point. On May 31, the army boundary extended along the road joining the villages of Chan, Iwa, and Oushichan. Three major areas remained to be conquered. The Chinen peninsula was occupied "against light opposition that indicated an absence of enemy plans for a defense of that area." The Oroku peninsula, south of Naha, and commanding that port, fell on June 15. The last remaining stronghold was in the south. "With the elimination of possible defensive terrain on Chinen Peninsula and in central southern Okinawa, it was becoming evident by the evening of 3 June that General Ushijima intended to stage his final stand on the southern tip of the island, almost certainly on the Yaeju-Dake Escarpment..."

Using the port of Minatogawa, the fighting leading up to the attack and conquest of Yaeju-Dake proceeded through the villages of Oushichan and Hanashiro, the second village studied here, and including the dramatic struggles for Hill 95 in the vicinity of Hanashiro. "The battle for the southern tip of Okinawa blazed with orange rods of flame and became a thunderous roar of machine guns, shells, rockets, and bombs." Finally on Hill 89 near the village of Mabuni, the campaign came to an end, 18-21 June 1945.

30 Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 146-48, 156ff, 181, 258 (Quoted), 262-63, 281, 301, 351, 360 (Quoted), 383 (Quoted).

31 Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 388, 392, 394, 400. For a dramatic description of the appearance of Shuri, see 400-02.

With the suicide, by harakiri, of General Ushijima and his Chief of Staff, General Cho, whose stars "have fallen with the setting of the waning moon over Mabuni,"[32] the island was conquered, and though it was not known at that time, this was the "last battle" of World War II.[33] 175 648

Unlike the Japanese, the Okinawans seemed unwilling to die when the alternative was death or surrender. They apparently did not take the emperor cult and State Shinto seriously, and though they were conscripted in the Japanese army, they did not identify themselves strongly with the war or its successful conclusion.[34] [103]

The Okinawan people showed remarkable abil'ty to stand up under physical and mental strain. Many lived in caves for long periods, subsisting on whatever food could be obtained. Aside from filth diseases and lice infestations, the death of many of the very young, and some of the very old, they suffered little deterioration and recuperated under care of military government teams with the help of American foods and clothing. Professional observers were struck by their lack of mental collapse and breakdown, and one observer has suggested that prolonged breast feeding and free access to the mother's breast in infancy had given the people the emotional security to withstand the trials of the war.[35] [155]

8

Okinawa After the War

The war brought catastrophic upheavals to the civilian population, especially in those areas of greatest military activity. One consequence 195 727

[Text Continues Top of P. 44--Analyst]

32 Quoted from Okinawa, the last battle, from the account of a prisoner of war, 470.

33 The campaign was declared ended on July 2, 1945. Sources for the statements in this and the preceding paragraphs will be found on pp. 407, 422, 425 (Quotation), 426-27 (Quotation), 437-42, 441 (Quotation), 470 of Okinawa, the last battle.

34 These statements are based on personal conversations with Okinawans who lived through the war, either as soldiers or civilians.

35 Materials in the first part of the paragraph are based on personal conversations. The interesting thesis about breast feeding, which I believe has serious defects, will be commented upon in the section on family life. See James C. Moloney, Psychiatric observations in Okinawa Shima. The psychology of the Okinawan. Psychiatry 8 (1945), 391-99; and, with Charles R. Biddle, A psychiatric hospital in military government, ibid, 400-01. Of great interest are the first hand observations of the authors made at Ginosa hospital. For other comments on the behavior of Okinawans during the war, see Okinawa, the last battle, 48, 415-17, 463, 468.

was that large numbers of refugees from the south were sent to the northern area. The destruction of the heavily populated south and central areas, with their many villages, gave new prominence to the northern district whose villages, much less damaged and less densely populated, were now in the best preserved part of the island. The roles of the two regions had, in a sense, been reversed. The northern region was no longer a rustic hinterland.

In 1945, the Okinawans came under the direct military government of the Americans, and from these early beginnings, which in the heat of conflict were scarcely more than compounds for the relief and care of refugees, there has evolved the extensive present civil administration and the native government.

The Americans have thus been the most recent arrivals on an island with a long history of inertia and change. The results of this last, and probably greatest intrusion into the culture of Okinawa cannot yet be predicted. This cultural influence is a stronger, certainly a much different one, than the great changes which came about when the Japanese set on their course to make over Ryukyuan, especially Okinawan life.

The war years, with conscription and service in the Japanese army in other parts of the empire, the disruption and deaths in the war, were effective in preventing the handing down of the traditional culture from one generation to another. This may mean a more ready receptivity to newer influences. It will be clear in the pages that follow that many aspects of the culture, familiar to the old, are now unknown to the young.

Whether the American influence will be a conservative one, in the sense that the fundamental attitudes and framework of the culture as it existed before the war, will be retained, or whether it will be a revolutionary intrusion remains to be seen. Will, for example, the individualism of the American culture tend to break down the structure of the family system? Or will American influences assert themselves within the framework of the culture, and will the flexible family system absorb only surface influences, leaving the basic culture as it is?

On a preceding page, the point was made that in the earlier periods there probably was not a homogeneous Okinawan culture, that its centers, Naha and Shuri, were under strong contemporary Chinese and Japanese influences, and that in the rural areas an older culture existed relatively unmolested. This gap was narrowed after the island became the seat of a province of the Japanese empire, through such measures as the new land law and the introduction of mass education, direct interferences were made in the traditional life of the rural areas.

In my opinion, the American influence so far has been to close this gap even more, but for different reasons. The Americans have made no direct interferences in the lives of the villages, except in those cases

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in which villages have been moved and land preempted for military purposes. The devastation of the war, the mixing of the people, their dispersion as refugees throughout the island prepared the way for greater uniformity. Since the war's end, increased mobility, ease of transportation, the widening of the roads have done much to further obliterate sectional differences in this small island, scarcely sixty miles long.

During historical times, and probably during times now lost to an undocumented past, this island, far from being isolated, has been influenced strongly by other cultures. From the examples which have been given, one can at least gain an intimation of the stability and change that have characterized its experience, and some insight, no matter how slight, into the historical depth of a culture with which the Americans, in one form or another, and for some time to come, will be associated.

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1

Introduction

In contemporary Okinawa, there are four distinct types of village settlement. The first and the most common is the village cluster. Houses are grouped in a central area, usually along or on both sides of a road, surrounded by farm lands and rice fields. The second, the shoe-string type, is less common. Here houses are lined along either side of a main street. The third is a here-and-there type of settlement. This has been called a yadori (Japanese) or yadui (Okinawan) village, translated as plantation, but this is too exalted a word.[1] These villages may have sub-settlements. Houses are scattered among intervening plots of cultivated land. In the fourth category are the modern improvisations: land formerly in forest, grass or shrub which has been reclaimed and used for houses and nearby cultivation, or former agricultural land now taken up for house sites, a result of increased population or of war time destruction of other parts of a village.

The basic type of Okinawan village is the cluster, a village small in area whose houses, close together, and on irregular winding lanes, are separated from one another by stone or rock walls, or by boundaries of trees or shrubs. The front part of the house compound usually is cut off from the road by a stone fence, running part way across, with the opening to the road obstructed by a stationary barrier, sometimes of stones, often of woven grasses.

In the village of a bygone age, there were large open spaces like a common on the outskirts "often appearing as glades in the forest." In this area, rice was laid out to dry, horse racing and other sports took place, the village council met, goods were bartered, justice administered, and festivals celebrated.[2] When approached from a distance, the older villages seemed literally buried in foliage. In the last century the larger villages still had rest huts (cung-qua) for travellers, usually government officials to use from one overnight stop to another. The older village also had a series of small buildings on stilts three to six feet long. These were granaries and food storehouses. Some houses were also on stilts. Older accounts have stressed the concealment of the Okinawan village, its houses separated from one another, its lanes lined or embowered with bamboo, with banana trees, or with arbors. To

[TEXT continues: TOP of P. 48--Analyst]

1 Higa, Shunchō. Structure of the Ryukyuan rural community. The Japanese journal of ethnology, 15 (1950), 63-66. In Japanese with English summary, 151.

2 The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 457. See also Basil Hall, Account of a voyage of discovery to the west coast of Corea and the Great Loo-Choo island, 123, 124.

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361 Perry's men, the aspect of these villages was one of rare and romantic
195 beauty.[3]

2

Hanashiro

361 Hanashiro is a small village of the cluster type in Gushichan
103 township (Gushichan-son) in the southeastern part of Okinawa.[4] It is on
[491] the present Highway 64 which begins on the Chinen peninsula, travels southwesterly, following the coast at a distance to Mabuni in the southeast, then crossing the island to Nagushiku town, a village south of Itoman.

361 The village and its surroundings are small in area, the actual town
241 site including various village owned properties, taking up slightly over
443 22 acres. This is an agricultural village, with the exception of minor
256 activities such as storekeeping and rice milling. As of December 31, 1951,
162 it had a population of 589 (269 male, 320 female), living together in 120 households, an average of 4.9 persons per household.

The village is believed to have been founded about 400 years ago.
361 By Okinawan standards this is not very old. It is off the main historical
[103] road which ran from Naha to Shuri to Kochinda, Gushichan, Minatogawa,
[491] through Tamagusuku township to the Chinen peninsula, probably the road travelled by Okinawan kings up to the latter part of the seventeenth century when they prayed at the altars on Kudaka Island.[5] There were in this area a series of castles on the tops of hills commanding the road
175 and its approaches, the castles, the rough determinants of various regions
349 formerly under a regional nobility. To the west there was Kochinda castle,
631 Tamagusuku on the east, Gushichan castle near Hanashiro, where a surviving stone fence can still be seen, and the castle site of Itokazu. There is reason for believing, as we mentioned in Chapter 1, that this is in the general area of oldest settlement in the island.

[Text continues on P.49--analyst]

3 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, Vol. I, 163, 164, 179-80, and an illustration of a "cung-qua" on p. 180. On the older village with granaries and storehouses, see Green's remarks in Hawks, Perry's expedition, as cited, Vol. II, 34, 36, and illustration in Vol. I, 178.

[103] 4 The village is also known as Hanagusuku: the meaning is the same, as
[192] shiro is the Japanese, gusuku the Okinawan word for castle. Many Okinawan place names have the suffix, --gusuku.

5 Spencer, The Noro, or priestesses of Loo Choo, as cited, 107.

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1

Historical Notes on Housing

In all villages, much time is spent, in addition to agricultural or fishing tasks, in housebuilding, either for one's self or for friends and neighbors. Housebuilding is the most time consuming of a man's tasks after his primary occupation. Repairs to or reconstruction of the poorer houses are continuous. The man with a good house and a tile roof has little to worry about. But he will often be found helping someone less fortunate.

The traditional houses of Naha and Shuri showed both Chinese and Japanese influences. The traditional house and compound of the rural village has been compared with the ancient Japanese house, and it bears some similarities with houses found among the Ainu.

It would seem from the observations and researches of earlier students that the house was always built above the ground without excavation, and sometimes on stilts. The supporting posts making up the rectangular house were either placed in holes or on stones on the ground. The supporting posts, the ridge poles, the cross beams were branches or trunks of trees trimmed and cut for length. Roofs of thatch had the apex of the roof covered by a saddle or arch shaped thatch made, like the rest of the roof, of grass. Smoke escaped either through an aperture in the ceiling or through a window, as it still does in many of the poorer houses. The houses were filled with smoke. The oldest rural houses apparently had only a dirt floor with scattered mats, though some had a raised floor.

The food storage sheds or small granaries were raised on stilts. Engravings of these have appeared both in Perry's writings and in Bayard Taylor's works. There is some question whether this granary (now disappeared) was indigenous or a borrowing. The purpose of the raised granary was probably to protect against dampness and to prevent infestation by rats and vermin. These granaries were open sided with no boarded up walls, and, in Okinawa, were circular.[1]

Animal pens or stalls were not attached to the house, but were always separate. In the courtyard, earthen rain water vessels were inbedded half way into the ground to catch the rain water. There were stalls for goats and pig pens, and the pig pens were used also as a toilet. This is no longer practiced to my knowledge, although the outhouse with its holes in the ground is found under the same roof as the pig pen. The entrance to the courtyard was opposite the front of the house. The protective stationary gate, the hinpun (in Okinawan), made of reeds or stones, stood at the entrance inside the court, as it does now, to shield the people of

1 For drawings of the granaries, see Satow, E. M. Notes on Loochoo. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 1 (1882), 1-8. The drawings follow the text. See also Simon, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, as cited, 75-85.

417 the house from the glances of the curious. It has been suggested that
[177] the stationary gate at the entrance of the courtyard is of Chinese
[169] origin, that its purpose originally was to scare away spirits, and that its former presence in the tomb compound indicates that it was introduced along with the turtleback or horseshoe tomb from Fukien province in China.[2]

175 Captain Hall described Okinawan house exteriors and the surrounding
351 buildings, including those of the common people. The house was "buried
342 in foliage" and hidden from view. It was surrounded by a light fence of rods, about one foot apart with creepers on top. These rods were probably stalks of miscanthus grass, or of the dwarf bamboo. The site had a wicker gate, possibly meaning the hinpun made out of the dried grass stalks. One house which he described was divided into two compartments, eight feet square, with a small veranda at one end. The floors, made of bamboo, and about six feet above the ground, were covered with a straw mat. The walls, about five feet high, were wattled with split bamboo, and the house had a pointed thatched roof.

[352] In the interior, there were shelves for bowls and cups, and in a
[354] loft or garret tools, nets, or baskets were stored. These installations now are often found in the kitchen. In the middle of one side of the house there was a fireplace, sunk below the level of the ground.

[343] Outside, in the compound, a pigeon house, poultry yard and spinning
175 wheels were observed. In another passage, Hall describes a cottage of
342 "wattled rattans" with a light open bamboo roof with thatch and creepers, one wing of which was occupied by goats. The compound consisted of a stable, a pig sty, and a poultry house. There was also a mill. The
[325] granary was on posts about six feet above the ground with firewood piled below. There was an anvil with a forge of masonry but no bellows.[3]

The houses of the poor, said Fahs in his report to Commodore Perry, were made of bamboo and had no floors.[4] Accounts around the turn of the century say that houses and granaries were supported by corner posts of considerable height. Schwartz said these posts were about five feet high. The house walls of straw thatch were held in place by bamboo grass matting with a space two feet in width acting both as a door and a window, a matting curtain covering the aperture.[5]

[Text Continues TOP of P. 73--Analyst]

2 Simon, as cited, 80. C. W. Bishop has suggested that the stone houses of the Ainus of Hokkaido point to contact with southern insular peoples. Also, the primitive Japanese hut which was illustrated resembled the one we have been describing for Okinawa. It had a thatched roof and a courtyard which was cut off from the outside view by the hinpun. The historical geography of early Japan. Geo. Review, 13 (1923), 40-63. Note especially Figures 5 and 6. (This article was reprinted in Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1925).

3 Captain Basil Hall, Voyage to Corea and the Great Loo Choo, as cited, 124, 141, 142-43.

4 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, Vol. II, 50.

5 Henry B. Schwartz, In Togo's country. New York and Cincinnati, 1908, 148-49.

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1

The Old Land Allotment System

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Okinawa became part of a province of Japan in 1879 and in the late of 1899-1903 fundamental changes were introduced in the land laws. Present land use and tenure is a result of (1) the family system with the original influence from China, with Japanese and Okinawan modifications, and (2) the Japanese system of inheritance, as outlined in the old civil code.

Prior to the Japanese reforms of 1899-1903, which introduced private ownership and private disposition of land, arable land in Okinawa was communally owned by a village and periodically redistributed to villagers for their use. This was known as the allotment system (jiwari-seido).

Until 1899, the arable land was owned by the village. Peasants had the right of cultivation, but not of ownership. Land was redistributed by village elders at stated intervals. These apparently varied among villages, as intervals of two, four, and ten years for the periodic redistribution have been mentioned by old men who, as youths, lived under the old allotment system. In the Gushichan area, according to one old man, this redistribution took place every ten years. It was found that there was much more awareness of the old land allotment system in the northern village of Matsuda than in the southern villages studied. [184]

In each redistribution, every living member of the family, from the newest born infant to the oldest person, was given a share. Apparently there were also local variations in determining each share. In the Gushichan area, according to the same old man, allotments were made according to the strength and competence of individuals. A distinction was made between a full grown male and a woman or a child, and there were differentials between the rich and the poor. The head of the house in practice received and controlled the shares of his family. There are no parallel data for Matsuda on this point. At each redistribution, additions or deductions in shares were made for births or deaths, though there is some doubt that this practice was universal. Matsuda old men mentioned this, and the Gushichan informants said the practice was not followed here; presumably a family share prevailed.[1] [184]

[Text continues top of P. 136 --analyst]

1 This discussion is confined to the two agricultural areas studied. Conditions apparently were the same for a whole township; since the areas are now roughly the same as they were, Hanashiro as part of the Gushichan township would have the same conditions. No information was available in the fishing village of Hinatogawa. The very old here had only a vague memory of the old system. "Until 1899-1903, when the Land Reform Law was enacted, land was owned communally by the village, which divided the land among peasants at regular (contd. on next page)

175 423 592 Under this old system, when a branch family was established upon the marriage of a son other than the first, his share was made available to him, although it is not clear whether he received this as a legal right, or whether, at each redistribution the father received the branch family share, later passing it on for the use of the son. In any case, provision under the old system was made for branch families in the redistribution just as in contemporary Okinawa this land is supplied, when possible, out of the private holdings of the father. The old and the new illustrate the operation of the family system under two types of land tenure.

175 423 311 Both in the Oushichan area and in Matsuda, there was agreement that the system applied only to rice lands and to dry crop land. House sites were not included in the biennial, quadrennial, or decennial redistribution. Neither were the parcels of genya land which were reserved for tomb areas (bochi, or haka). The forest lands (sanrin) or the genya lands were also communally owned. The reclamation or much of genya land in Okinawa for agricultural uses seems to be a late development, probably a direct consequence of the increase of the island's population. Fifty years ago the island of Okinawa was more heavily forested than it is now. This applies even to the south, if the statements of old people resident in the area can be accepted. Both in the northern and southern communities, pine stands in the forest and in the genya land were publicly owned, and there was a system of tree allotment. Trees in the publicly owned areas, could be cut according to the number of [313] shares of land one had. Then in September and October of each year, each family replanted a number of trees equivalent to the number it had taken.

In these redistributions, apparently the land was not allotted to individual families directly, but first allotted to family groups [571] (kumi) and then in turn to the individual families. There were special allotment groups (jiwari-gumi). It is not clear whether this initial distribution to groups and then to individual families was universal in Okinawa, as this information comes only from Oushichan township.

This system of community ownership, with periodic allotment of rice and dry crop land, naturally called for a system of land classification. Excellent land was rare; good land was not plentiful, poor land was most abundant. The topography was rough and all good land was not in the same

1 (continued from previous page) intervals, the amount in proportion to the number of family members and their work and tax-paying capacities. It was called ji-wari (land-division). Peasants had no right to possess land, but only the right to cultivate, and taxes were imposed upon a village as a whole, not upon individuals." Higa, Shuncho. Structure of the Ryukyuan rural community. The Japanese journal of ethnology, 15 (1950), No. 2, 63-66. English summary (from which this is taken), p. 151.

place. Then, as now, paddy and dry crop land might lie together, depending upon local factors. In the periodic redistribution, each family received shares of each in non-contiguous fragmented parcels. In the nature of things, they received small shares of the excellent, moderate shares of the good, and large holdings in poor land.

The old classification of lands was simple and did not go beyond three general divisions of good, fair, and poor. Apparently the Japanese after 1879 introduced more refinements and increased the number of classifications to six. Land classification, then as now, was empirical. It was based on observation, local knowledge of present and past yields, and known dangers to the land. It was not based on scientific knowledge of the soils, nor is it today.

Several dangers to land and crops were considered: (1) the danger of the wild boar (inoshishi). These reddish brown wild boars have disappeared from large parts of Okinawa, though occasionally one is seen in the northern forest. The boars destroyed crops by night feeding. Remnants of old fences can still be seen in the area around Matsuda. In Oku, in the extreme north, fences are still used and many can be seen along the hillsides. (2) Dangers from floods and salt water spray. Local flooding is common and often confined to a narrow area. Salt water spray and salt water in the air, especially in typhoon times, are still menaces to crops. The danger from typhoons did not enter directly into the determination of land classification because the area of destruction was so wide that it was not a factor distinguishing one plot from another. (One can however observe areas of differential damage in a village as an aftermath of typhoons).

This old land allotment system is now forgotten except in a few isolated areas where its main features are still apparently preserved. The best known of these is Kudaka Island off the southeastern shore of Okinawa. If the system has disappeared, except for a few isolated survivals, its influence remains to the present: it determined the pattern of land use still in effect today, the pattern of small, discontinuous parcels, and set the precedents for the mechanics of land classification. The basic classifications such as rice land, dry crop land, community forest were Japanese and are of great age. The old land allotment system is also considered to be of great antiquity.[2]

[2] It was a matter of considerable disappointment that I was unable to spend two or three weeks on Kudaka to study the land system there. Neither has time permitted an investigation (of great inherent interest) of the historical antecedants of the old Okinawan system. Land classification, such as we will be discussing in the next chapter, is very old in Japanese culture. The old Okinawan system bears some resemblances to the "mouth-share-land" (ku-bu-den) system of old Japan which appears in the Taihō code (702 A.D.). This was a system of distribution of communally owned land, but I have not been able to determine whether the distribution was periodic. See Wigmore, J. H. and Simmons, D. B. Notes on land tenure and local institutions in old Japan. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 19 (1891), 77 on land classification, (continued on next page)

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Commodore Perry and his staff noted the land tenure system of the Great Lew Chew but did not get any details and were not quite certain what it was.

> "Another obstacle in the way of their improvement is the impossibility of their ever procuring a vested right of ownership in the land. As far as the Commodore could gather information on the subject, it would appear that the soil is held by the government, and its agents are employed to collect and consume its produce. According to the best accounts that could be obtained, the actual cultivator receives not more than two-tenths of the produce. Of the remainder, six-tenths go to the lord of the soil, or ruler, and two-tenths for the expense of supervision of the land, costs of collection, etc. The peasant has thus no stimulus to exertion. Wretched, however, as this system is, and degraded as is the condition of the operative, it is astonishing to see the large returns from agricultural labor." These returns are attributed by the authors to a combination of skill, soil, and climate.[3]

[433]

Goldschmidt (1927) wrote that under the old system the land was the property of the villages and was divided by the elders of the village "according to ancient precept," into equal parcels, considering its location, and that every individual received a parcel. "Large families had therefore correspondingly more parcels; daughters who married took at marriage their parcels with them. Every six years there was a new division, so that everyone received another plot of land and no one could complain, in the long run, over an unjust distribution."

[178]
[423]
[171]

2 (continued from previous page) 86 on communal ownership, 157 on mouth-share-land. The old Okinawan allotment system also is similar to the practice of masha' in the middle East. A village maintains its lands in common and apportions them among villagers periodically. This is found in parts of Iran, Jordan, Arab Palestine, and Syria. See Tannous, Affif I. Land tenure in the middle East. Foreign agriculture (U.S. Dept. of Agriculture), 7 (1943), 171-77.

3 Elsewhere the narrative remarks that, "All the land in Lew Chew is held by government and rented to large tenants, who, in their turn, sub-let it to smaller ones, who are the direct cultivators of the soil." And in another place, it is said that the lands were held by the government as a "metayer system, brought down almost to individuals (or possibly upon an allotment system)." The metayer system, as described by Dr. Green, was a "plan of paying (in this instance as 'taxes') a certain proportion of the produce." Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, I, 220; II, 25-26, 28. See also I, 311.

Goldschmidt then remarks that the peasant in the last years of his possession thought only of the parcel to come in the next allotment and did nothing for his land, and that in consequence its productivity fell. There was private ownership at that time only of newly reclaimed land or land filled in along the seashore, and this land went to the person who had done the work. The Japanese, when they abolished the system, divided land among families by number of members and since this time large holdings have not been created. Goldschmidt adds that "the land still suffers now from the consequences of this old system."[4]

To discover precisely the nature of the influences of the old system cannot be done with accuracy because of the destruction of local records, the vagueness of recollection among the old and of the inability to reconstruct old boundaries. What follows therefore is partly speculative, but nevertheless useful in suggesting the reasons for the present shapes and areas of individual land parcels. One of the striking aspects of the land maps of these areas is the odd and irregular shapes of land holdings. This is not true of all Okinawa. In some areas, plots on the hillsides are symmetrical, often rectangular or square. In the areas studied, there are plots of this sort, but also many that have very irregular shapes.

It is possible that after the abolition of the old system, some areas in the island were resurveyed, while others were not. Such surveys could have approximated the old areas but created a more regular rectangular pattern. In Hanashiro resurveying apparently was not done. The historical reasons for the present boundaries are not known because of decades of cultivation and because the land has not always been used for the same purposes. One of the large rice growing areas in Hanashiro is a recent development. The changes from paddy to dry crop land, or the reverse, seem to have followed the fluctuations in sugar and rice prices. It was quite probable that formerly the land was less level, that it was more heavily forested, and that odd shapes were due to the cultivated areas winding around large outcrops, patches of stony land, clumps of trees, uncultivated slopes which have now been reclaimed, leveled and cultivated.

Conditions like this are a commonplace in Okinawa today. Some of these boundaries also may be following the lines of old streams. Rivers, or more properly creeks, are not numerous in Okinawa and their presence is often hidden: a stream rising in a nearby mountain and ultimately going to the sea eight or ten miles away may be lost in a wide paddy area and trickle off again in its stream bed after several hundred feet of dispersion in the paddies. The boundaries may also

4 Goldschmidt, Richard. Neu-Japan. Berlin, 1927, 131. (My translation). The same criticism appears of the system in the middle east. See footnote 2 above.

179 423 have been affected by roads and trails which have now disappeared.

[115] Old residents[5] of Matsuda and neighboring villages were able to furnish more specific clues regarding the old system and its relation to other phases of village life. These old people estimated the [161] population of Matsuda at the close of the old system at about 360 persons, compared with the present population of 1368. The system operated under much less acute population pressure than exists today. Deaths, especially from malaria, and a high infant mortality kept [165] the population down, although introduced Japanese hygienic measures helped.

[311] Under the old system in Matsuda, there was a continual clearing of land, mostly around the settlement. There seems little doubt that land reclamation and clearing has been going on slowly from the earliest historical times in Okinawa. The land cleared remained under village ownership, but the persons who cleared the property were allowed to hold it for use without giving it up for periodic redistribution. Technical ownership remained with the village.[6] Fences and stone barriers were erected as a protection against the wild boar. But the large scale reclamation and the private ownership of genya land seems to have occurred after the close of the old system.

The dividion of lands at the beginning of the new system has set the boundary pattern of many plots. In Matsuda there were instances of land which has retained the same boundaries that it had under the old system. There was general agreement among the old that the form, boundaries, and areas of land plots have changed [428] very little since the times of the jiwari-seido. This would be particularly true in the case of property which had passed down through [425] the first son. Changes came from the establishment of branch families, and sales and purchases. In these areas, however, buying and selling have been infrequent.

● 175 423 [171] The history of land tenure in Okinawa, therefore, is different from that of Japan with its long history of tenancy, whose accumulated problems finally led to the land reform of 1946 during the Allied occupation. The present system of land tenure in Okinawa is a little over 50 years old.

178 423 311 The chief influences of the old system were to set in a form recognizable to the present, the pattern of land holding, to establish land classification, and apply it on a very localized basis.

[115] 5 I am indebted here to Shinsato Zensuke of the village of Sokei (Oinoza-son), and to Oshiro-san of Matsuda village (Oinoza-son) both over 70 years of age for their recollections of the history of the system in Matsuda.

[114] 6 This differs from Goldschmidt's account, cited above, in that in this case the land became a usufruct, in the other actual ownership.

731 313 the deforestation of the south over a period of centuries thus is related to water spray and wind damage, relationships which a wise administration cannot neglect.

121 The natural tendency is to think in terms of population and land and of the food which it can produce. But if the population is envisaged in terms of forest, the land, both cultivated and uncultivated, and the role of the uncultivated land in protecting the soil, broader understandings are possible.[9]

231 It is a significant fact, to use another example, that goats are tethered and not allowed to graze. They do not roam the hillsides, nor crop off the shoots of young plants. If they did, it is possible that legislation controlling the goat might have to be enacted such as has been done in the island of Cyprus.

311 731 185 It is important therefore, to ascertain how a culture makes use of its natural environment and also how it takes care of it. Typhoons cannot be controlled. Neither can periods of drought which often produce water shortages, prevent the planting of sweet potatoes, or the harvesting of a good rice crop. In areas where control is possible, the Okinawans have developed conservation measures. Almost one hundred years ago, Dr. D. S. Green, Fleet Surgeon attached to the frigate Mississippi on Perry's expedition to Japan, wrote:

175 185

> "Two objects seem to influence the islanders in all their operations, viz: the retention of water or moisture, and the avoidance of surface-washing. To effect these desirable ends, especially in a rolling country, a great quantity of grading is required, besides very deep culture; and here both of these have been done."[10]

000 In the areas studied, no serious sheet erosion was observed.

[Text continues TOP of P. 157 -- Analyst]

9 The general ideas and points of view expressed by Edward Graham in his Natural principles of land use, London, New York, and Toronto, 1944, are pertinent here.

10 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, II, 26-27. The emphasis is in the original. Green continues with further details of grading around streams, along ravines, and on the uplands. His description today would still fit many parts of Okinawa. He was particularly impressed with the lands on a journey between Nugah (i.e., Nago) and Tanegah, southwest of Unten. His whole passage is well worth reading.

Two other forms of land conservation and maintenance, crop rotation and fertilizers, will be discussed under agriculture.

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and improvement of rural life, have continued to function. The most important of these are the agricultural associations (nogyōkumiai). In Okinawa, they are organized on a township level. The agricultural association is usually near the township office. It is both a buying and a selling concern. It buys and sells agricultural tools and simple farm machinery. The association may also buy and introduce into the agricultural village new techniques, tools, insect and pest control preparations, and other supplies imported from America or Japan. Buying and distribution for sale are at present more active functions than making loans. In any one year, a borrower may obtain a ¥200 loan, but the chief difficulty (Dec. 1951) is that the association has little money. In Oushichan village, the association buys and resells firewood, imported from the northern mountain region.

The fishermen's association in Hinatogawa has already been described. It may buy and distribute fishing gear, gas and oil, and other marine necessities.

Within the village itself, there are co-operative groups. The sugar mill co-operative of Hanashiro is typical. This has about 125 members, both men and women, and includes most of the families of the village. Each member pays to the association a fee for the use of the mill including the machinery and the cooking vessels. Of the fee, 60% goes to care and maintenance, 10% to the head of the co-operative who handles the administrative details, while 30% is held in reserve and redistributed as a rebate to members after the end of the season, if there is a surplus. The sugar is individually produced and sold. The village co-operative is concerned only with the care and maintenance of the mill and its facilities.

In Matsuda a pig raiser's co-operative (yōtonkumiai) has been started. The main emphasis is on breeding rather than on marketing. The group, which has about 61 members, is a result of the intense interest which has followed the introduction of American breeds. The head of this group is chosen by the membership. The organization is interested in the diffusion of information on the care and breeding of pigs and its membership participates in regional meetings of pig raisers.

h

The Cash Economy of Rural Villages

The use of money in Okinawa seems to be recent. Hall and M'Leod in 1816 wrote that they observed no money, and that the Okinawans did not know its uses. Commodore Perry, who had a crisp reaction both to the Okinawans and to Hall's descriptions of them, said they knew "the value of gold and silver very well, and they traffic for the Chinese 'cash', of which from twelve to fourteen hundred are equivalent to the Spanish dollar." Chamberlain (1895) said that the Okinawans had

436 no native money and used the Japanese cash, and that the Japanese
● 175 did not permit a native coinage.[2]

436 Up to the war, only bills of low denominations circulated in the villages. In Minatogawa, an old lady, now about 73, said that before the war she had never seen a ¥100 note, which at that time was worth slightly over US$25. But since the 19th century, new conditions have pried the farmer loose from barter and self-sufficiency.
434 There is little to warrant a belief that rural villages are self-
511 sufficient. The most elementary obligations, such as sending one's children to school, require cash. An average rural family of five may require from ¥40-60,000 a year.

[574] Cash outlays include: (1) Entertainment, including the purchase of sake. Entertainment is an integral part of the culture and cannot be dismissed as a luxury. (2) Clothing. (3) Fertilizer. (4) Tobacco.
[388] (5) Soap. No soap is made in the home. American soap flakes are highly prized, but generally are not purchased because of the cost.
[262] (6) Hair cutting. (7) Food and food supplements, such as noodles and vermicelli types of paste, cooking oils, salt, soy sauce, meat, fish, seaweed (kombu), rice, if not grown and purchases from the import store. (8) Fuel, charcoal, charcoal sticks. (9) Transportation for business or pleasure. (10) Newspapers. Many subscriptions are can-
[204] celled when the price goes up. (11) Tools and tool repairs, but maintenance is small after the original investment. (12) School books and
[872] contributions to schools for purchasing special items. (13) Medicines and mid-wives' fees. (14) Occasional purchases of lumber, stone, or
[651] tile. (15) Taxes.

434 In the farming areas, sugar and pigs are the only significant sources of cash income. Sweet potatoes, rice, eggs, and soy beans may be sold, but the amounts are either too small or the selling price too low to provide substantial amounts of cash. Occasionally younger sons may have jobs which bring in money, and a farmer or his sons may have a horse cart for hire.

In Minatogawa, cash outlays, in addition to the items already mentioned, are required for nets, gasoline, and oil. Cash comes from
[51] sales of fish, pigs, and stone. The lack of rice, an insufficient sweet potato crop for year round needs, imports of firewood from the north and the occasional need to purchase grasses for thatch make this community more dependent on cash than the agricultural community.

42 The economic problem of the fisherman is also different from that
8 of the farmer. Both the farmer and the fisherman must pay cash for medicines, fertiliser, alcoholic drinks, clothing, various special but traditional articles of the diet, taxes, tools, and supplies. The farmer, however, can produce much of his food. He can exist on sweet potatoes, bean curd, and bean paste soup, and if need be may spend little money on food. The fisherman cannot exist on fish alone. Fishermen without fields must depend on cash earnings to buy the

2 Hawks, Perry's expediti , to Japan, Vol. I, 160, 220-21. Chamberlain, The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, Geo. Journal 5 (1895), 313.

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3

Daily Work Habits

512 The people of a village are continually busy. Their daily work habits depend on the season and the type of work. The work day of the fisherman is the least predictable because his activities are more sensitive to the present and anticipated weather. Most farmers continue working in their fields in a slight rain, but activity ceases with heavy rains. While the farmer works steadily and hard, there is a certain elasticity in his schedule. He does not go to the fields every morning at exactly the same time. Neither does he feel compelled to put in a full day's work every day; he is guided more by the tasks to be done. Work is interrupted by an occasional smoke or conversation with friends or neighbors passing by. There is a routine in daily life, but it is not strictly adhered to. Meal times vary from day to day sometimes by an hour. Time may be taken out from the fields to gather firewood, make bean curd, to dry out bean pods, or to fix up one's house. Three or four days in a row may be devoted to helping with another's house. The sun is the guide to time. Most houses have clocks but few are running and they are not well regulated. Perhaps the chief distinction between agriculture and fishing work is that in the former, the tasks of all blend together.

[264] [476] [805]

A farmer's work day in summer begins about 8 or 9 in the morning and ends almost the same time in the evening. Full advantage is taken of the daylight hours. In summer, the evening meal is not eaten until 9 and often later. By the time the meal is finished and the table cleared, it is ten. After short visits within the family, or with neighbors, the farmer retires about 11. In the winter, the routine is the same, but the day's work stops earlier, and the evening meal is at about 6 P.M. The fishermen do not have this unbroken routine. There is often night work and the day may be used for sleeping. Intense activity is followed by periods of greater or less leisure.

4

Clothing

175 292 565 [286] 291 [537]

The history of costume in Okinawa is full of interest, but it is too broad a subject to deal with here. In the old Okinawan kingdom, clothing and its color, hair pins, caps, and other articles of men's wear were used to designate rank. The clothing of the commoners had much less variety. Until quite recently, banana fibre was used in farmers' clothing. A dyed indigo kimono, stripes for men and dots for women, is still worn.

Present day clothing is of a non-descript character. The war

515 the Japanese style public bath at Minatogawa. There are separate rooms for men and women. The body is soaped; then the soap is washed off. One gets into the hot watertub to soak. In this arrangement, all the advantages lie with the first comers. In the winter, the Minatogawans use their public bath houses. But in the summer, they soap themselves thoroughly and rinse off under a public faucet, keeping on a pair of shorts or a light skirt, depending on sex. In Matsuda, an outside tub is frequently used. This is bullet shaped, about three feet in diameter and about the same depth. Generally it has a rudely constructed roof. The bath water, not so hot as the Japanese like it, is only moderately warm.

[516] In family tub bathing, there is an order in which the bath is taken. Guests are first, followed by the head of the house, then by other males in order such as first, second, or third sons, and finally the women of the house, starting with the eldest. Many people in Matsuda go, usually about once a week, to the neighboring village of Ginoza for their bath.

6

Hair Styles

302 In the days of the old kingdom, men and boys wore the hair long. A patch on the crown was shaved, and the long glossy hair was gathered on all sides and made into a tight knot and pinned with two hair pins. Satow mentions that between the ages of 16 [175] and 19 the ceremony of genbutsu took place. The central part of the head was shaven, and the long hair was then put up. According to this author, the custom dated back two centuries.[2] Various oils were used on the long hair to keep it in place. This hair dress for men and boys was described by Basil Hall in 1816; Commodore Perry's staff made similar observations, and the reports of Furness (1896) and Simon (1910) indicated that there had been no changes in the style.

The cutting of men's hair is said to have begun about 10 years ago. While some thought the Japanese forced this, it seems to have been done voluntarily. A high school principal, now in his late forties, told me of his childhood remembrance of crying at seeing his young father willingly shearing off his own long and luxuriant hair.

[177] The clipped (marugari) head for young boys is a Japanese introduction. It was required for health reasons by the Japanese school teachers. The clipped cut, for young boys, has persisted, and it is

2 Satow, E. M. Notes on Loochoo. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 1 (1882), 1-8.

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uncommon to see young boys up to 12 or 13 without the clipped head.

After the abandonment of long hair, men followed the Japanese custom which resembled the Western style. Unless men went into the army, where the hair was severely clipped, they wore their hair at moderate length. [177]

From infancy to graduation from grammar or junior high school, the hair of boys is clipped to the scalp. After 14 it is allowed to grow, sometimes to considerable length. The longest and the fullest hair (either by neglect or intention) is found in the group from 17 to about 23. There is some influence from Japanese and American movie hair styles. The word "all-baku" is used to describe this style, mostly referring to long hair parted or combed straight back and full on the sides. The young man has his choice between a short crew cut type and long hair because the hair is very thick and sticks up and is difficult to train unless long. After the early twenties the young men are likely to cut off their long hair and adopt a more conventional haircut. This lasts until old age when many, but by no means all, of the men over 55 or 60 have their hair clipped short again. [177]

In the 19th century, women's hair, according to accounts describing styles at the close of the century, was long like the men's, but differed in the manner of putting the hair up. The crown was not shaved. The hair of the ordinary woman was worn long with a pug, placed indifferently on the left or right side of the head. Okinawan young women, around the turn of the century, adopted the Japanese headdress (which they still retain at their weddings), either the elaborate traditional coiffure, or the simpler and more severe style of drawing the hair straight back with a pug at the nape of the neck. Okinawan women at this time had long hair and took great pride in it, universal long hair, according to the villagers, lasting until quite recently. [175]

Before, during and after the war, great numbers of Okinawan women, except the very old, cut their hair. Present hair styles depend on the age group. Young girls up to 7 or 8 have the hair cut on the level of the ear lobe or a little higher, with bangs in front, and a high shingle in back. The hair of a young girl through high school reaches an inch or so below the neck line, she has bangs in front, but the hair is not shingled in back and hangs freely.

The late teen age group and the younger married women have become infatuated with the permanent wave. It is much admired by the younger people of both sexes, but is often unbecoming on the young women because it gives the hair a frizzled appearance. The permanent wave is much less common among the village women over thirty whose hair, almost shoulder length, is tucked in a sort of roll at the back of the neck. Old women in their sixties and seventies have quite long hair. It is done up rather severely with a top knot on the crown held by skewers, somewhat similar to the old Okinawan style.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

the war, the upper stratum of society consisted of Japanese plus a few highly placed Okinawans. With the departure of the Japanese, there was no well developed class structure among the Okinawans to succeed to the Japanese hierarchy. Today in these villages, there are inequalities in economic well-being, and certain individuals or groups have greater prestige than others. But these, I am convinced, are not to be traced to a class structure. Any division of the village into upper, middle, and lower classes would be artificial and would put a strain on the facts. Differences, where they appear, are the result of individual qualities, such as age, the possession of land or money, or personal character.

In the old Loochooan kingdom, there was a rigid class stratification based on the Chinese model. The Japanese abolished the Loochoo nobility after the islands became a province, but, according to Furness (1899), "the people still cling to the old custom."[1] Despite the abolition of the nobility, distinctions between noble and commoner were made up to the recent war. In the family registers, descendants of the Loochooan nobility (shizoku) were so designated. But all villagers agreed that these distinctions had no meaning or value, either for preferment in the Japanese service, or for one's social standing among his countrymen. For all practical purposes, everyone was a commoner. Since the war, the fact that one is a descendant of the Okinawan nobility is, if possible, even more inconsequential. No notation is made in the family register. Most men over 35 can tell instantly whether a given surname is of noble or common origin.

The number of these descendants of nobles must be very great. Chamberlain in 1895 reproduced a table, which he said he had every reason to believe was accurate, showing an absurdly high proportion of nobles to commoners. These statistics were from the census of 1891 and for the entire Ryukyus:[2]

	Household Heads	Families
Princes	2	35
Nobility and Gentry	22,567	95,082
Common People	57,981	235,213
Total	80,550	330,330

1 Life in the Luchu islands, as cited, 7. For rank distinctions based on caps, stockings, sashes, and hair pins, see Simon, as cited, 155, 156-59. Hawk's Perry's expedition, as cited, Vol. I, 224, Vol. II, 48. Basil Hall also gives rank orders in an appendix. Perry considered government by this nobility very oppressive. The CA Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands gives the historical background of the class structure and its manifestations in government.

2 In the article cited from the Geo. jour. 5 (1895), 298.

a fact which has been a determinant in their historical development and an important factor in speculations about prehistoric events.

Until further archaeological evidence permits greater certainty, the original settlement of the Ryukyus is believed to have taken place predominantly from the Asiatic mainland, with occasional influx from the southern islands, Formosa, the Philippines, and Indonesia (Kerr, 1958). Surviving culture elements of great antiquity support these theories. Most frequently cited are a basic form of Shinto, characteristic of the religion, and the shamanistic role of the priestesses. Specifically, the "curved jewels," formerly worn by all priestesses, are mentioned as apparent links with the neolithic cultures of Japan.

On the other hand, sporadic contact with the islands to the south is evidenced by culture traits, such as raised houses of tropical design (common to all of Japan) and perhaps the practice of "mother roasting," a period of recuperation after the birth of a child during which the mother is kept near a fire. This custom is widespread in Malaysia (Cole, 1915:155).

Linguistic evidence points to a separation of Okinawan from a common proto Japanese language about 1500 years ago (Hattori, 1954). This may indicate a southern movement of peoples from Japan under the pressure of the Yayoi people who introduced the wet rice complex into southwestern and central Japan at this period. That this was not the earliest settlement of the Ryukyus, however, is evidenced by remains in the Ryukyus of the earlier Jomon period.

From the first mention of the Ryukyus in Chinese annals of 605 A.D. until the end of the nineteenth century when Japan formally annexed the islands, they stood in a curious relationship of dependency toward China and Japan. Both nations claimed suzerainty over the kingdom of Okinawa with its royal court in Shuri and extracted tribute. Eventually the Lord of Satsuma in southern Japan extended his sovereignty over the Ryukyus. But with ties to China remaining, Okinawa participated in both Chinese and Japanese culture, which disseminated through the urban trading center of Naha into the outlying areas. It is this intermediate cultural position which still gives Okinawa a peculiar character, although it long ago became part of Japan and abandoned direct contacts with China.

In 1872 Japan formally declared its claims on the Ryukyuan kingdom, and after deposing the last king in 1879, made the Ryukyuan islands a province of Japan, with the capital at Naha. Between this time and the present, intensive contact with Japan has led to an overwhelming absorption of Japanese culture, a willingness on the part of Okinawans to adopt Japanese ways and to identify with Japan as their

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

home country. Nevertheless, many aspects of Okinawan life still suggest an earlier phase in which independent developments gave the islands their own particular culture.

The Okinawan people, approximately 655,000 as counted in 1954, live in an area of about 454 square miles. Their major economic activities have traditionally been agriculture and fishing. In 1945 a long, peaceful existence was brought to an abrupt end during the final battles of World War II in the Pacific. As a result of world conditions Okinawans have been placed under American administration for an indefinite period of time. Today large numbers of men—and some women—find employment as unskilled and semiskilled laborers with the American forces. Gradual training for highly skilled jobs widens these opportunities for employment. Indirectly Okinawan life is influenced by Americans through stimulation of trade, building, and improved health conditions. Land requirements of the American forces in some areas also have influenced the settlement pattern. While these changes have affected the entire island to some degree, the greatest changes are noticeable in the central part around Naha where American administrative and military personnel are located. The village of Taira in the northern province of Kunigami, where the present study was located, had been subject to relatively few of these postwar changes in 1954. Isolated since earliest times because of mountainous terrain, this part of the island participates, as it probably always did, marginally in cultural influences which affect the center of the island. A great deal of cultural stability has therefore been preserved until the present day.

Nevertheless, it is useful to remember that the population of northern Okinawa is linked with the rest of the island by an efficient communications system. Roads connect almost all settlements in the north with the central island, and a bus transportation system extends its service into the remote areas. But long before all villages were connected by road with the center of Okinawa, people of Kunigami province traveled by foot over the many trails which traverse the mountains, and, since the turn of the century, many have left their home villages. Some went to Japan as laborers; others settled in the Japanese-controlled Islands of the Pacific, and some families joined the numerous Okinawan settlements in South American countries.

LANGUAGE

Taira people are bilingual. Okinawan, which linguists consider a separate language, has many regional dialects, some of which are not

(mentioned previously), song, and the indigenous religion. Okinawan song and music undoubtedly exceed both Japanese and Western in popularity; in fact, no other facet of Okinawan culture has so successfully withstood the changes of the past seventy-five years. Songs such as the Kagiyadefu (which some Okinawans liken to a national anthem), Nubui Kuduchi, Hamachidori, Tanchame are known and loved by all. Some of the phonograph record stores in Naha carry as many as several hundred different recordings of Okinawan songs, and virtually all of these are recorded in Okinawan. All priestesses of the indigenous religion interviewed by the author stated that Okinawan was the language of prayer and ceremony; to some this was a burden, as in the case of one priestess who had spent most of her life in Japan. A few admitted that the language of the ceremonies and particularly that of the old songs or umui (sometime rendered omoro) was rather obscure and not fully understood; these are transmitted orally from the older priestess to her successor and undoubtedly contain many archaic words. Outside the formal religious structure yet inextricably linked to it are shamans (yuta) and fortune tellers ('ekisha'). The former, most often a woman, uses Okinawan almost exclusively in rites concerned with divining, exorcism, and curing. The latter, nearly always a male, is usually a fairly well-educated person, as the profession is based on interpretations of certain books used in conjunction with the ancient Chinese Book of Changes (I Ching), and either Japanese or Okinawan, depending on the customer, may be used in giving the reading. Both practitioners are extremely popular, but the fortune teller is usually found in the cities and towns whereas the shaman may be found in Naha or the smallest hamlet.

Japanese With the abdication of Shō Tai in 1879 the Japanese government initiated a program designed for integrating Okinawa into the national state as rapidly as possible. An effort was made to stamp out all vestiges of Okinawan culture, utilizing techniques ranging from education and indoctrination to repressive laws and police measures. Greatest emphasis was given to making Japanese speakers out of Okinawans. Leavenworth quotes Governor Narahara as stating that the creation of Japanese speakers was of more value than all the repressive laws prohibiting certain customs.[1] At the start the Japanese were hindered by a lack of schools and teachers, and so the program moved ahead slowly. An effective national school system covering the rural areas where the bulk of the population was located and taking in both sexes was not fully operative until about the time of World War I. The failure of Japanese to displace Okinawan can be attributed largely to a lack of time and a lack of facilities for education beyond the elementary level. By the time of World War II but two generations were schooled in Japanese, and the majority of these had received no more than six years of education.

Though Japanese failed to displace Okinawan, it did succeed in becoming a necessity in the lives of most people and in establishing itself as the prestige language. With the government, press, schools, cinema, radio, and high-level commerce utilizing Japanese exclusively, participation in modern life without a knowledge of Japanese became impossible. The incentives towards competence in Japanese were many, whereas there appeared to be little gained

[1] Leavenworth, 1905, p. 37.

CHAPTER III: AGRICULTURAL HISTORY, LAND USE AND DIET

F. R. Pitts

121 178 The concept of the unchanging Orient certainly fails to appear true in the case of Okinawa, when the past is examined closely. Indeed, it seems hard to find an area where so much change has been accomplished so fast. The following is designed to show some major aspects of that change, particularly insofar as the farmer is concerned.

1. Agricultural History

175 241 198 **The Early Days** As early as the 1730's when the great Okinawan statesman, Saion, urged the growing of the sago palm 'sotetsu', farmers were already used to orders and suggestions from the gentry as to modification of their traditional ways. But it was not until the growth of population and the money economy that changes were to be brought about, not so much by orders from above, but chiefly by the workings of economic forces.

175 177 433 249 The ultimately most effective agent of change had been the introduction of the sugar cane plant in 1623 and its concomitant technique of sugar manufacture.[1] It was not until a decade after the Japanese took over the islands, however, that sugar production began to increase, and not until after the Russo-Japanese war that sugar really became an important crop in the economy. By 1939 the production of sugar amounted to more than a million tons, and production exceeded consumption by ninefold.[2] By the end of the 1951-1952 winter pressing season, production had declined to 256,000 tons.[3]

175 62 About the time of Commodore Perry's visit the population of Okinawa had begun to grow, and new areas were settled by both commoners and the gentry. Nanahan dates its existence from this period. Of the first three families to settle here, one came from Shuri gentry, and two others were commoners from the main settlement of Tomoyose. Of the seven settlements of the village of Yamada, three were settled by commoners and one by the gentry. All had come from the urban areas of the south in the latter part of the last century. [825] In Okinawa everyone seems to be aware of his place in history, and in the older settlements one often hears the remark, "...they are newcomers; they have been here for only two hundred years."

175 241 178 433 [179] In general the agricultural history of Okinawa falls into three periods. The first saw a self-sufficient economy, in which banana cloth was made in the village. The chief crops were millet, arrowroot, and sweet potatoes. With the introduction of a money economy, and its further intensification under the Japanese, sugar gradually turned from its previous use as a home confection to a full money crop. Rice acreage fell as more sugar was planted, and sweet potatoes found a greater place in the diet. The old crops of millet, cassava, and arrowroot were all but abandoned in Shimajiri, and became less important in the north. The third period is essentially the post-war and still continuing one, in which the growing of vegetables for the

1 Navy Handbook, p. 240.

2 CAARI, p. 156.

3 Summation of U. S. Army Military Government Activities in the Ryukyu Islands, July-November 1946, p. 25.

military competes with sugar as a primary cash crop, and cane fields are being converted back to rice paddies as fast as the farmer's resources permit. A more detailed discussion of the crop changes in the last two or three decades follows. 175 241 178 433

Chronology of Change in Crops The major changes in crops revolve chiefly around the replacement of rice as a cash crop by sugar cane, and the later reversal of this situation. About fifty years ago, rice was the chief cash crop. It was rarely consumed in the home, but was sold in order to meet the monetary expenses of taxes, and to buy occasionally the new commodities that were beginning to appear in the markets. Then, not long after the Russo-Japanese war had ended, the price of black sugar jumped almost overnight from ¥8.50 to ¥64 for a 150-'kin' barrel. Everyone wanted to get a share of this boom in sugar, and most began to convert paddy land into 'hatake' for the growing of cane. They were stuck with the 'hatake' when the price fell after two months. The Japanese subsidized sugar later, however, and most of the land that had been converted remained sugar land. [654]

When the people began returning to their farms more than a year after the end of World War II hostilities, there was little market for sugar. The subsidy had gone with defeat, and providentially the sugar lands were available for the growing of more sweet potatoes. American canned food and sweet potatoes were the main items of diet until about 1949. Gradually farmers began to convert 'hatake' to paddy fields, and to grow rice again---this time less for sale than for home consumption. [262] [177]

The old "bearded rice" varieties (fijimē and mēdakōja) of the nineteenth century were replaced gradually by the shorter-statured but higher-yielding 'hōraimai'. The bearded rice, planted only once a year, had a yield of about one-third the present variety, and had only five or six stalks per plant. The twice a year modern variety yields more and has on the average fourteen to fifteen stalks per plant. As a result of the adoption of the two-crop variety, at least one traditional ceremony was abandoned. This was the tantui, in which the whole village participated before simultaneously planting their seedbeds. Before the war, two-thirds of Okinawa's rice requirements were imported.[1] Indicative of the postwar change to rice are the figures for area of paddy-fields in Kochinda-son; the 114,142 'tsubo' of paddy in February of 1948 had increased to 306,220 'tsubo' by September of 1952. Field investigation proved that conversion to paddy has proceeded at least as fast since 1952 as it did prior to that date. 175 241 433 242 178

Before the First World War almost everyone in Nanahan raised forty to fifty 'tsubo' of millet. It was boiled with glutinous rice to make millet rice-cakes, or 'awamochi'. None is raised now. The same is true of cotton. "It grew only a foot high, but its fiber was very strong and would last a lifetime." [252] Some other crops lasted into the post-war period. Until about 1950 textile bananas and yams were raised in Nanahan, but they both proved to be too weak in typhoons, and their cultivation was abandoned. 178 175 241

1 Summation....July-November 1946, p. 25.

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[177] Many root plants such as the giant radish and carrots used to flower out, and the root would be so stringy that it could not be eaten. About nine years before the war the Japanese brought in many new and better varieties. Nanahan has more vegetables now than the rest of Tomoyose, people say, "...because our houses are scattered and we can get to the vegetable plots easily; [234] they in Tomoyose can't, and therefore pay less attention to vegetables." Of the seven wards of Tomoyose, only Nanahan has an agreement not to keep chickens so that their vegetables will be protected. Before the war the Irish leek and swiss chard were the only abundant vegetables; others were to be had in only small quantities. The "pine mushroom", or 'metsudake', was gathered "when we used to have pines in the neighborhood." Farmers complain that they can grow less green peas now, because of the great increase in number of rats due to loss of the cat population during the invasion.

Okinawa has always been self-sufficient in sweet potatoes except in occasional time of famine. Even then, dried products of the sweet potato are often used. Many varieties are grown the year around, but in Nanahan only five main varieties were mentioned. Okinawa #100 gives the biggest harvest and in fairly fixed amounts regardless of weather. There were many of White #100 before the war, but few now. It was delicious, but the harvest gradually declined from its former high yield. Just after the war there were many of the tumai-kurū variety, but recently few have been planted. The yield had been high, but gradually the seed became bad; it was described as the "most delicious of all sweet potatoes." Yaeyamaakagu was mentioned as a variety still grown in small amounts. The variety which brings the highest market price is Kiirumugwā. This "delicious" potato yields only half that of the average, and hence its price is double.

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433 Perhaps the best way to view the prewar-postwar change in agriculture is to look at the amounts grown by a typical Nanahan farmer. Table I below presents this information.

Table I

Crop	Tsubo Prewar	Tsubo Postwar	Comments
Sugar cane			Postwar home use amounts to 14-15 'kin' (19-20 lb.) annually. Sells about 100 'kin' (132 lb.). Prewar, sold 1400-1500 'kin' yearly.
(summer planting)	500	350	
(spring planting)	300	150	
Sweet potatoes	700	500	Three harvests per year. Not sold much; make starch only if harvest is plentiful.
Soybeans	300	200	Generally sold about 1/3 of each prewar crop, but only when money was needed at home.
Broad beans	150	70	Prewar variety was a small plant, the postwar one very large.

Table I, Cont'd.

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Crop	Tsubo Prewar	Tsubo Postwar	Comments
Green peas	80	--	None now due to rats.
Giant radish	50	50	Sell half; use the rest in soups.
Burdock root	--	50	Sell 90%; use only at home for feasts.
Carrots	1	5	Sell half the crop.
Dryland taro	--	20	
Irish potatoes	--	50	Winter crop; seed from Hokkaido.
Cucumbers	1-2	50	Prewar, all used at home. Now sell 90% at about ¥10 per 'kin'.
Chives	1	1	Always use in soup. Raise for home use only.
Wax melon	50	50	Sold half in Itoman prewar; now sell same amount in Naha.
Pumpkins	1	1	Entirely for home use then and now.
Kidney beans	100	100	Then and now entirely for home use, in 'gohan' and 'miso'.
Cabbage	--	60	Sell 90% at ¥2-7 per 'kin'.
Eggplant	--	4-5 stalks	For occasional home use.
Green onion	--	10	Entirely for home use, in soups, etc.
Chinese cabbage	--	20	Sell over two-thirds.
Bitter melon	--	5	Mainly for home use.
Mustard cabbage	--	3	Sell half. Pickle temporarily with salt for home use. [251]
Swiss chard	5	50	Pigs eat the old and large leaves; people the young and tender small ones. [231]
Garlic	--	3	It is pickled, and is entirely for home use. [351]
Shallot	--	2	Entirely for home use.
Red peppers	--	1-2 stalks	Used with soybean curd, or when one has a stomach ache. [757]

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Before the war Okinawa imported half its soybean requirements. By early 1951 the prewar acreage had been cut by half.[1] This resulted in the necessity to import soy sauce tax-free from Japan, which brought an ineffective protest from the Legislature early in 1954. 'Miso' paste, which is made of soybeans when they are available, is now made also of corn, broad beans, kidney beans, and various other legumes.

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As early as 1946 the occupation forces reported:

> Rapid restoration of Okinawa's prewar agriculture is hampered chiefly by an arable land shortage induced by military requirements in the southern half of the island, where roughly 30,000 acres are devoted to military use. War damage and migration from combat and, later, base development areas seriously disrupted agrarian economy and early planning was delayed pending disposition of farm tracts affected by military expansion.[2]

That loss of both upland dry fields and paddy land was affected is shown by the following:[3] (figures are in 1,000's of acres)

Table II

Type of Land	1940 Acreage	1950 Acreage	% of 1940
Cultivated land	103.8	67.2	65%
Paddy land	11.5	9.6	83%
Upland fields	92.3	57.6	62%

Even more significant is a comparison of the 1940-1950 figures with those for 1904, which show the situation which existed before any Japanese military installations were built.

Table III[4]

Year	Acres Paddy Land	Acres Dry Fields	Total Arable Acres
1904	15,779.1	93,952.6	109,731.7
1940	11,527.25	82,273.86	93,801.11
1950	9,559.56	57,610.16	67,169.72

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1 Ryukyu Islands Economic Statistics Bulletin, no. 10, January-March, 1951.

2 Summation...op. cit., p. 26.

3 Ryukyu...., p. 13.

4 The 1904 data are from Summary of the Land Adjustment in Okinawa Prefecture, Tokyo, 1904. The 1940 and 1950 figures are from the reverse side of the large map, Okinawa shotō shōzu.

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In all cases, Kunigami seems to have held up the best, and Nakagami has fared the worst. Again this reflects the military interest of both the Japanese and the Americans. The comparison of 1904 acreage with that of 1950 in each of the three areas is shown below:

Table IV

Area	1904 Acreage		1950 Acreage		% Decrease	
	Paddy	Dry	Paddy	Dry	Paddy	Dry
Kunigami	6,530.5	28,398.5	5,463.0	20,773.8	16%	27%
Nakagami	3,861.2	34,176.1	1,675.1	14,932.0	57%	56%
Shimajiri	5,370.3	30,978.7	2,443.9	21,904.4	55%	29%
Okinawa Island[1]	15,779.1	93,952.6	9,589.0	57,610.2	39%	39%

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Chronology of Changes in Farming Technique It is impossible to give for the whole of Okinawa a schedule showing just when each technical innovation was introduced. Some parts of Shimajiri and Nakagami were in advance of the rest of the island; conversely, one finds on the outer islands practices still carried on that the more progressive areas abandoned more than two decades ago.

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In Yamada the transplanting of rice was originally done by scattering (bara'ii) of the shoots. Shortly before 1930 this method was replaced by planting in rows, with a string to mark the distance. The spaces were filled in by planting while walking backwards. About 1950 people started transplanting while moving forward. This has been replaced in part---at least in areas where the mud is firm and clayey---by the planting frame, the 'waku'.

Farmers kept the harvested rice in conical stacks (majin) several feet high. The bundles (tabai) had the heads facing inward to prevent attack by rats. The number of these stacks was indicative of the farmer's prestige in the community. The sheaves were removed from the bottom layer always, and only when rice was needed for food. [554]

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Removal of the grain from the stalk was accomplished by the kūrashijii. This was a pair of bamboo tongs held in the right hand, while the sheaf was drawn through the tongs with the left hand. When the new variety of rice was introduced, use of the kanabā became common. This iron-comb-like device, through which the sheaves were drawn one at a time, can still be found in use on the isle of Sesoko, off the Motobu peninsula. It apparently did not find

[1] The discrepancy in the 1904 totals for Okinawa Island and grand totals for the three division of the island is accounted for by 17.1 acres of paddy land and 256.7 acres of dry fields in Naha, and 142.6 acres of dry fields in Shuri.

swiss chard for pig feed, as well as the greater availability of lantana bushes for livestock feed. The following table compares the 1931 figures with those for 1952: 178 729 231

Table VI

Livestock Type	1931	1952	1952 as % of 1931
Cattle	41	229	558.0%
Horses	1,676	74	4.4%
Swine	1,774	2,490	140.0%
Goats	4,217	1,400	33.3%

The "great rabbit boom" is often spoken of by farmers in an amusing vein. In the winter of 1946-1947 rabbits assumed the form of currency, and in a mad fever people bought rabbits and sold them, never realizing their true value. A Nanahan farmer related: 195 231 [43]

> I hitched a ride on a truck, and went up to the Katchin peninsula. There I bought a rabbit for ¥600. I sold it the next day to B. for ¥1200. He resold it for ¥700 profit to a Gisshi farmer who was waiting to buy one. Then I went up again, stayed overnight, and sold the new rabbit for ¥1000 profit. Again and again I went, and finally amassed ¥5000 in profits. With these rabbit profits I bought what I thought was a pregnant goat for ¥7000. It wasn't pregnant, and I had to sell it for ¥3000, taking a loss. But then I bought a pig from B. for ¥2500 and sold it to 'One-armed K' for ¥3000.
>
> In Tsukazan, which was the center of the rabbit trade in this area, a man sold all of his land to invest in rabbits, but he lost everything on the deal.

2. Land Use

The basic pattern of land use has been described in Glacken's Okinawan Village Studies (SIRI Report No. 4), and in Nuttonson, Ecological Crop Geography and Field Practices of the Ryukyu Islands, Natural Vegetation of the Ryukyus, and Agro-Climatic Analogues in the Northern Hemisphere. Although agriculture is not quite as intensive nor yields so high as in Japan, still much intercropping, double-cropped and rotation of crops is carried on. Because sugar cane takes a year or more to mature, various crops such as kidney beans, giant radish, cucumbers, broad beans, soy beans and mustard cabbage are interplanted with the cane. They mature and are harvested before the cane grows too tall and cuts off the sunlight. Sugar cane is rotated in a two-crop cycle of cane and sweet potatoes; or it is rotated with soybeans and sweet potato in a three-crop cycle. Very rarely is cane replanted in a field which has just produced a crop. In this way the farmers hope to diminish the damage done by worms and insects. 311 241

CHAPTER VI: POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND CONTROL

W. P. Lebra

1. Territorial Organization

631 The territory of the Ryukyuan government is subdivided into a number of municipalities whose administrations are directly responsible to the central government in Naha. There are three types of municipalities---city ('shi'), town ('chō'), and township ('son')---depending on their population and character. The 'shi' (city) and 'chō' (town) are urban municipalities whereas the 'son' (township) is always rural. Each of these are in turn subdivided into 'ku' which are equivalent to wards in the urban municipalities and to villages or hamlets in the rural. This study shall concern itself exclusively with the governments of the 'son' and 'ku'. As of May 1954 there were four cities, four towns, and forty-eight townships on Okinawa and its peripheral islands, and these contained over five hundred villages and settlements.

632 The governmental designations in use on Okinawa are the same as those 171 employed in Japan though there are several minor distinctions. A 'son' or township in Japan and Okinawa is a collective grouping of a number of separate communities or villages into a single administrative unit. In Japan the 'son' is a fairly recent creation, dating back to the late nineteenth century; in most cases it is a rather arbitrary grouping of villages in the interests of administrative expediency. It is exclusively a governmental unit, rarely a social or historical entity. This, however, is not the case on Okinawa.

● 175 Prior to Japanese annexation the present 'son' on Okinawa were called majiri; 632 in the Okinawan feudal age (aji nu yuu---Age of the Aji or Manor Lords) these were the hereditary fiefs of the local lords. Later, after the end of feudalism in the fifteenth century they became the administrative districts of the Shuri government. Each district was headed by an official (jiturei) appointed by the king, and the majiri or district was most important as the land-disbursing unit in a system of communal land ownership. It also served as the basic tax unit, since taxes were levied against the majiri by the Shuri government rather than against the individual family or village. Each majiri, like the present-day 'son', consisted of a number of small villages called mura, the equivalent of the present-day 'aza' or 'ku'. After Japan formally annexed the Ryukyus in 1879, the old administrative system was not immediately abolished and continued to exist for some time. The system of communal land tenure and taxation lasted until 1903, and the majiri were not converted into their present-day counterpart, the 'son', until 1907. In most cases the old majiri name was given to the new 'son', which generally corresponded to the territory of the former although a few of the larger ones have since been subdivided. For example, Motobu was divided into Motobu and Kami Motobu. In most cases, however, there has been a continuity in political districts since the feudal period.

621 Each 'son' is made up of a number of villages which are called 'aza' or 'ku' by official designation. For all practical purposes the two terms

CHAPTER VIII LAND TENURE

W. P. Lebra

423 178 During the lifetime of the oldest living generation of Okinawans there have been operative two radically differing systems of land tenure---at first a system of communal land ownership and later a system of private ownership of land by families. At the present time a third system may be said to be emerging---private ownership by individuals. Changes in the systems of land tenure have been accompanied by significant changes in the family, economy, and community. During the wartime and post-war periods extensive land losses to military installations have severely disrupted the livelihood of a number of communities, thus furthering the process of change.

175 1. The Okinawan Kingdom and the Land Allotment System ('jiwari seido')

[692] Prior to 1879 when Japan formally annexed the Ryukyus, Okinawa was a small semi-independent kingdom (it was a tribute-paying dependency of the daimiate of Satsuma in Japan) controlling the southern Ryukyus. The 175 urban Naha-Shuri area served as the administrative and commercial center 565 for the kingdom, and nearly all of the upper classes, gentry and nobility, [423] were concentrated there. They formed a ruling class similar to that of China, functioning as a literati and administrative bureaucracy. Feudalism had been abolished in the fifteenth century, and aside from a small percentage of the nobility who were allowed to retain their hereditary fiefs, the bulk of the upper classes subsisted on pensions granted by the ruler. This group was very large and constituted approximately one-third of the total population.

175 [566] The farming population lived in a state of serfdom, being forbidden even to move from their native village or to change their hereditary occupation. [364] Farm villages were self-sustaining and physically isolated entities consisting of tightly-nucleated clusters of dwellings surrounded by fields. [612] Each village was segmented into several lineages whose houses were generally clustered together; these kin groups were related through the male line and [613] shared a common ancestor, ritual observances, and often a local tomb for [614] temporary burial. Each lineage was usually related to certain lineages of other villages, thus forming a larger relationship or patri-sib which shared a remote common ancestor, ritual observances, and a common tomb for permanent burial. Usually the membership of this larger kinship group was concentrated in the villages of a given district or area. Village endogamy [582] was an obligatory marriage practice, and kin group endogamy was a preferred though not an obligatory practice.

178 423 Private ownership of land on Okinawa is a recent phenomenon, as recent, in fact, as the beginning of the twentieth century. Under the old 175 kingdom communal ownership of the land obtained for all except a small seg- 423 ment of the upper classes. In theory all land was the property of the ruler, [632] but in practice the district, or majiri (political unit roughly equivalent

to the modern 'son'), was the land-holding unit. The administration of the majiri supervised the distribution of land to the villages or mura (political unit equivalent to present-day 'ku') where it was divided among the various families. The amount of land allocated to a given family was dependent on its size, age and sex of members, and social position; consequently the houses of the nuru priestess and local officials received a proportionately larger allotment than the houses of ordinary farmers. The distribution of arable land under this system at the end of the nineteenth century was as follows: 67.1% farmers, 13% local lords, 8.3% nuru priestesses and local officials, 10.9% newly-cleared land.[1] The farmers worked the lands of all groups.

The origin of this communal land allotment system ('jiwari seidō') lies deep in Okinawa's past far beyond the beginning of its recorded history. Redistributions were made periodically to compensate for changes in household size and fertility of holdings. These reallotments occurred at from four to thirty year intervals at the option of the local (majiri) administration, with the average being about every tenth year. Certain lands were excluded from redistribution, particularly the lands of the local lords. Usually the lands of the so-called yādui settlements made up of the younger sons of gentry families were also excluded. Newly-cleared land was placed in a special category in order to encourage land development; ordinarily it was treated as the private property of the family that cleared it and was not subject to reallotment. Despite these exceptions nearly 75% of the arable land was subject to periodic redistribution.

Under this system the tax-bearing unit was the majiri, not the family. Each majiri was headed by a jiturei, an appointed official from Shuri, who functioned as an administrator, judge, and policeman; he was held responsible for the tax payment of his district and was subject to recall and punishment in the event of default. The state took no action against the family or household which failed to pay its tax; such matters were left to the jiturei and his assistants, who were free to deprive the offending family of all its lands if they saw fit. When a house defaulted, its lineage was held accountable and forced to make up the deficit; if the lineage was unable to meet its obligations, the entire village (mura) had to assume the responsibility. A marked feature of the old village was a number of granaries set aside for the community's annual tax levy.

Land valuations were permanently fixed in 1610 when the daimyo of Satsuma had the region surveyed to determine the amount of tribute which could be extracted. There was no reassessment until after the annexation, although the overall tax levy was raised in 1635 and again in 1722. Only arable land was subject to taxation; no taxes were levied against house lots which were privately owned, nor against the forest and grass lands which were communal property. The tax levy for each majiri was based on the estimated productivity of its land at the time of the survey; it was a fixed tax and was never altered. It had been set so that in theory 40% of the yearly crop went to the government and 60% was to be retained by the

[1] Higa, 1950, p. 64.

175 family, but in actual practice the family often received a far lower percent-
423 age, since with a fixed tax there was no possibility of compensating for crop
651 failure, decline in productivity, and population growth. Tax payments were made in grain though cloth was also accepted. In addition to the inflexibility of the tax system there was a lack of uniformity in tax levies; certain areas such as Kunigami and the outer islands bore an unequal tax load, and farmers in all areas paid a proportionately higher tax than the officials and upper classes. These inequalities inherent in the system plus
[933] the periodic redistribution of plots served to curb any interest which the farmer might have had in improving his holdings; consequently, productivity was said to be very low.

423 Vestiges of this system may still be found in some of the peripheral
178 areas of Okinawa. The village of Oku in northern Kunigami-son still has communal ownership of its forest lands, and on Kudaka Shima off Chinen Peninsula a villager must turn his land over to the community when he goes to live elsewhere.

2. Okinawa-ken (1879-1945). Japanese Administration and the Termination of the Land Allotment System

175 Following the annexation of Okinawa, the new government embarked on
648 a program designed to integrate Okinawa (and the southern Ryukyus) into the
179 national state. The task facing the early administrators was a difficult one, for in addition to differences in language and culture Okinawa was poor in natural resources and possessed an antiquated administrative system. It was soon realized that modernization could not be accomplished overnight; therefore the Japanese allowed virtually all of the old customs to be retained during the first twenty years of their administration, and efforts were directed toward educating a sufficient number of Okinawans to assist
[565] them in carrying out the program. Though the old class system was abolished, members of the former classes continued to subsist on pensions now paid by the new government, and in the rural areas life continued much as before except that the *mura* replaced the *majiri* as the land-holding and disbursing
175 unit. By 1899 the government was prepared to introduce more radical changes,
648 and in March of that year Law 59 relating to land adjustment was promulgated.
179 Its objectives were to confirm private ownership and to determine land
423 values for tax purposes. The importance which the administration attached to this measure was clearly stated by Narahara Shigeru, superintendent of the Land Adjustment Board, "Now, the only way to reform the administration is to destroy old customs, but its accomplishment must be commenced with the reform of the system of land taxation, the very foundation of the old customs."[1] Following a mapping survey which began in 1899, officials went into the villages to explain the purposes of the law and to settle conflicting claims. Private ownership was generally confirmed in favor of the cultivator. By 1903 the land reform was carried through to a successful completion.

Private ownership of land was accompanied by the introduction of Japanese laws of property and inheritance; their combined effect was to alter substantially the prevailing social organization and economic balance of the rural community. Land formerly held by the family under the communal

[1] Summary of the Land Adjustment in the Okinawa Prefecture, 1904, p. ii.

allotment system was now entered in the newly-created land registries as the property of the household head. In the past inheritance of the position of household head by the first son had been largely a matter of status succession involving leadership of the family and certain ceremonial obligations. Property succession had not been an important factor, for the private property of the family had usually amounted to no more than the family house and lot. Under the old land allotment system there was always land available for younger sons who set up independent houses, but under Japanese law the bulk of the family property was inherited by the first son. What had been the function of the community in the past now became the responsibility of the family, and since family holdings were usually small, the younger sons were often landless. Informants stated that a father will usually do everything possible to provide his younger sons with land, but he cannot do this if it means jeopardizing the resources of the house. Continuation of the family line for the purpose of continuity in worshipping the ancestors is the chief responsibility incumbent on the household head, and in the rural areas the land provides the major support for the house. With the rise in population there developed an increasing trend for younger sons to emigrate from the rural areas in search of land or jobs elsewhere. The end result was a considerable weakening of family and especially kin group ties and a rapid decline in the communal character of the rural villages. 175 648 177 423 177 423 428 592 [166] [602] [621]

Though the creation of private property made possible the sale, purchase, and rental of land, landlordism never gained a foothold on Okinawa. Undoubtedly this is primarily due to the recency of private property and the lack of time for large accumulations of land to be made. It is also in part due to a lack of capital in the rural areas; most capital on Okinawa after the annexation and before World War II was confined to the hands of Japanese businessmen and members of the former upper classes who seemed disinclined to invest in land. Likewise the official Japanese attitude toward Okinawa was to regard it as a rather backward part of Japan not to be exploited as a colonial dependency as in the case of Formosa and Korea. Glacken has suggested that the heavy fragmentation of the typical Okinawan farm would be an obstacle to its sale; yet, the Chinese farmland is also highly fragmented and landlordism has been common there for centuries.[1] 175 423 427 [471] [648] [171]

After the abolition of the communal allotment system taxes were extended to cover all categories of land whereas previously they had been applied only to arable land; however, government income from land taxes sharply declined, as the moderate levies of the Japanese administration were considerably below those of the Okinawan monarchy. Despite this reduction in tax load there has been a steady decline in the amount of land cultivated since the termination of the old land system; this is clearly shown in Tables III and IV in Chapter III, Agricultural History, Land Use and Diet. 175 423 651 [311]

3. World War II and the American Occupation

During World War II Okinawa became the scene of one of the most violent battles of modern times. The entire island was turned into a combat 175 727

[1] Glacken, 1951, p. 160.

175 area which resulted in a twenty percent reduction in the civilian population
727 and in the destruction of virtually every city, town, and village. The densely-populated southern half of the island, scene of the heaviest fighting, was particularly devastated.

Staggering reconstruction tasks faced the military government at the conclusion of the war, and at first nearly all its efforts were absorbed in managing the problems of food and health for the civilian population. In the course of the campaign nearly all of the people had been removed into civilian internment camps, and many remained there for nearly a year or more before returning to their homes. Most returned to find their homes destroyed and fields overgrown with weeds or littered with the debris of war. In a few areas whole villages were replaced by military installations. The average village found itself without housing, its fields in an unusable condition, and its families decimated. In most cases the district office ('sonyakuba') had been destroyed and with it all family and land records. The physical destruction of the war and the humiliation of defeat left the population apathetic and indifferent for some time. One informant stated this feeling succinctly, "After the war we were left with only the will to live, nothing more." A former war-time and post-war mayor of one village informed the author that nearly six years were required to restore the land to its pre-war state, and he expressed the opinion that this recovery was unduly prolonged by the generous food ration issued by the military government: "No one wanted to work as long as there was free food. Without this food it could have been done in two or three years."

175 On April 14, 1950, the military governor issued Special Proclamation
423 36 which authorized the issuance of new certificates of land title.[1] The
[648] measure necessitated surveying and preparing new land maps and issuing new titles. It was first necessary to set up schools to train personnel for carrying out the assignment. The mapping job was one which the authors heard praised in all farm villages, with a number of informants remarking that Okinawa now had the best land maps of any time in its history. In the confirmation of ownership local bodies were made sovereign, but the individual had the right of appeal to the courts.

423 Copies of the land titles are kept in three offices, the land regis-
647 try and tax collection offices in the district office ('sonyakuba') and in the Central Land Office located in Naha. Under the law all land transactions, rental or sale, must be registered within thirty days; however, even the most casual check of these records plus a knowledge of local holdings indicates that this is not being done, for both the bookkeeping and registration appear to lag far behind transactions. This does not seem to be the result of any deliberate attempt to withhold information but rather appears due to a lack of concern for such details on the part of the individuals concerned. The same sort of situation prevails in the registration of births and deaths. Another factor might well be that the large number of land transactions occurring in the postwar period have left the farmer disinclined

1 Ryukyu Statistical Bulletin, no. 5, May 1950.

[Kanegusuku]
[Kitazato]

on Okinawa observed that the farmer took little interest in the care of land which he did not regard as his own. The author was particularly impressed by the contrast between Japan and Okinawa in regard to the care of land, for the meticulous care which the Japanese farmer lavishes on his land seems absent by contrast among the Okinawan farmers.

Kitazato The farm village of Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son presents a marked contrast to Kanegusuku in that it has suffered the loss of a major part of its area to a military installation. In studying the village of Kitazato the village of Kanegusuku was used as a base line for comparisons. To supplement his own observations the author has drawn heavily on actual statements by Kitazato people; in this way he hopes to present as accurately as possible the actual state of the village compared to villages elsewhere on Okinawa, and the villagers' own conceptualization of their circumstances.

Kitazato is not an old village, having been founded but seven generations ago by the younger sons of gentry families from the Naha-Shuri area. It was politically independent of the neighboring villages during the time of the old kingdom, but after the annexation it was administered in part by the villages of Gushiken and Jahana. In 1936 or 1937 it was established as an independent village, taking its present name.

Following their release from civilian internment camps the villagers returned to the site of their old homes shortly before New Year's of 1946. They found virtually their entire village land area converted into an airfield and accompanying military installations. According to their account there was considerable misunderstanding between them and the military as to where they might live, and they feel that they were subject to contradictory and inconsistent orders. Several moves were made which disrupted their plans to settle, and one villager stated, "I grew tired of rebuilding my house." In 1948 they were finally ordered to remove themselves from the military area, and they took up residence in their present location. It is claimed that there was insufficient land in the area to resettle the entire village on a single site; so, the village divided into three sections. Thirty houses were located on the beach between the villages of Gushiken and Shinzato, and this segment was given the name Hama. The remainder of the houses settled in the nearby hills from one to two miles away. Thirty-nine houses settled in the hills between the villages of Furushima and Jahana, taking the name Kijikina. Ten houses located themselves in the hills just north of Kijikina in a settlement which they called Anahana. These latter two, however, function as a single settlement for administrative purposes. These 80 houses making up the scattered village of Kitazato have a total population of 414. Despite their physical separation these segments have striven with considerable difficulty to maintain their political and social unity; one mayor and council serves them, and people are constantly visiting from one area to another. Today most of their land is gone, and they are too far removed from any city, town, or military installation (the airfield is abandoned) for employment. Extreme poverty and bitterness are one's first impressions of the village.

[Kitazato]

●175 621 727 It is said that the division of the village cut across family lines and that the motivating factor in a household's choice of one site over another was the location of their remaining landholdings on the periphery of the village. Another factor was the presence of relatives in neighboring villages from whom they might secure land for rental. Thus, Kijikina is largely made up of households which have their lands on that side of the field or have relatives in neighboring Furushima; the Hama people mostly own the land at the north side of the field.

175 621 The Pre-war Village Prior to the war the village was, according to 'son' officials, a very prosperous community and a great economic asset to the 'son'. It possessed nearly 173 acres in arable land, most of which [249] [334] was flat or gently rolling. The soil was well suited to sugar cane which was the chief source of income for the village; cattle-raising for export [238] [339] to Japan provided an additional source of income.

Unlike Kanegusuku the lineages were said to be rather weak in Kitazato; there were a number of different kin groups, and no one of these was [346] dominant. The houses of the village were not tightly nucleated like those of the typical Okinawan village but were scattered about in a loose grouping in the midst of the best agricultural land.

621 311 727 Land Loss At the present time (May, 1954) approximately 39% of the total land area of this village is in airfield, and an additional 34% of the total area has been ruined by activities related to its construction (sand dumped onto fields, top soil removed, erosion, etc.). There remains but 27% of the total land area for the use of the villagers, and of this only a small percentage is in arable land, since most of the good, flat farmland was lost to the airfield. The total amount of arable land remaining is [134] 11,895 'tsubo' (less than ten acres), and this averages out to about 148 'tsubo' or 0.12 acres per household, with approximately five persons in each house. The average amounts of arable land per household in Kanegusuku, Okinawa, and Kitazato compare as follows:

Kanegusuku	---	1514.2 'tsubo'
Okinawa	---	1037.2 'tsubo' (per farm household)
Kitazato	---	148.7 'tsubo'

Land loss to the airfield affected every family in the village; some families lost all of their lands, a very few managed to retain most, but the majority of villagers (70%) lost nearly all of their holdings. For example, the mayor of the village held 2470 'tsubo' before the war and now has 570 'tsubo' left; yet, he is considered one of the more fortunate. To compensate for their losses they now farm some land which was previously left idle: "We would not have farmed such land before the war as we are farming today." Some have rented lands from neighboring villages, and a few have been given land by relatives in these villages.

621 829 727 Land Payment The people of Kitazato strongly feel that they are not being paid adequate remuneration in terms of current rental values for their land. They are well aware of the fact that the same U. S. military

3: Pitts et al. E,K-5 (1953-1954) 1955 AC7 Okinawa AC7

CHAPTER XI: CULTURE CHANGE IN RURAL OKINAWA

W. P. Labra

Within a span of less than fifty years Okinawa has been twice subjected to periods of accelerated culture change. The first began in 1899 when the Japanese administration abolished the system of communal land ownership and taxation then extant in the rural areas and introduced private ownership. Land reform was followed by modernization of the government and the establishment of compulsory education. A second period of rapid change began in World War II with the American invasion and the establishment of military government.

The Japanese Impact (1879-1945) During the first twenty years of Japanese administration relatively few changes were introduced, but beginning with the land reform of 1899-1903 there followed a series of changes which completely altered the fabric of Okinawan society. The policies of the Japanese administration and the results of the long period of close contact with Japanese culture effected the conversion of Okinawans into Japanese nationals, destruction of the self-sufficiency of the rural village, modernization of government, weakening of the kin group, and greater participation in national life.

The transformation of Okinawans into Japanese nationals was accomplished through the establishment of a national school system which indoctrinated the students with the language and culture of Japan. Official Japanese policy aimed at the eradication of Okinawan culture; this was carried out through the schools and by means of repressive laws, police measures, and the practice of discrediting things Okinawan. Although there was some Okinawan reaction to this discrimination, the government was ultimately successful in creating a favorable response to Japanese culture. Its accomplishment was largely due to the close affinity of the Japanese and Okinawans. The linguistic and cultural resemblances between the two are so close as to make their differences bridgeable. A wider gulf might have produced antipathy, but instead the superior civilization of the Japanese came to be regarded as worthy of emulation.

The Japanese did discriminate against Okinawan culture, but as an alternative they offered, in theory at least, equal participation in their own culture. The process of assimilation was greatly facilitated by the cultural indoctrination of the schools; each successive generation came to feel and act more Japanese than the previous one. Okinawan culture was not eradicated, as the space of time was too short, but its creativity was reduced. An important factor in aiding the acceptance of Japanese culture was that the ideas and technology of the modern world came to Okinawa through Japan; hence, much of what was of foreign origin was accepted by the Okinawans as Japanese.

An important aspect of the change which came about under the Japanese administration was the realization for the average individual of a greater participation in the social and political life of the country. The mental

[Yamada]

Thus Aza Yamada consisted of seven settlements grouped into six 'han' and into five chinju. The chinju was probably the older, "natural" unit, while the 'han' was a unit introduced by the Japanese administration. 621 [177]

During the last few months before the battle for Okinawa, the area south of Yamada was used as an ammunition dump by the Japanese navy, one small unit was stationed in Tarigaa, and a number of Okinawan civilians drafted for labor were quartered there with the local people. These outsiders dispersed as the raiding by American planes increased and by the time the landing took place, on 1 April 1945, the people of Yamada had for the most part gone into caves and prepared underground shelters. Two or three days after the landing the 6th MarDiv passed through Yamada, discovering some of the people and sending them behind the lines, but missing many. Some of those taken were almost immediately allowed to return to their homes. Then, after about a week, all were rounded up, taken to the school, and there loaded onto trucks and taken to Ishikawa. During the following weeks all the buildings in Yamada that had survived the softening-up process that preceded the landing were burned "as a sanitary measure" with the exception of one house and one school building. A part of the Yamada people were moved again to a village north of Kin while the rest stayed in Ishikawa, which was becoming the largest concentration of civilians on the island. Aza Yamada, empty of Okinawans, was occupied by several American units; concrete foundations for quonset huts were laid on the level fields of Tirabaru; the walls and floor of the remaining school building were removed so as to make a garage for a motor pool. 175 621 726 727

The people of Yamada were permitted to move back to their village during the summer of 1946. Some stayed in Ishikawa, however, and some returned to Yamada only to go back to Ishikawa later. (One woman said they were told at the time that if they did not return to Yamada then they could never return later.) The houses at Yamada had to be rebuilt and fields reclaimed; American aid in materials was given but the job was not an easy one. For some of those who had employment with American units or whose families were too broken by the war to provide the basis for a farming household, the new city of Ishikawa, crowded and unsanitary as it was (and still is), was more attractive than the ruins of the country village. But in addition to those from Ishikawa, former Yamada people were being shipped home from Japan, the South Seas, and Manchuria, and although some of these too drifted to the city, the population of Yamada is now somewhat larger than it was before the war. 175 621 727

The postwar village of Yamada looks considerably different from the prewar one. While the old village consisted of several widely separated settlements, the new one is fairly compact. The center is Ajimaa at the old cross-roads below the school. Yamada 'mura-uchi' is empty but for three families. The yaarui of Uema and Tarigaa were never reoccupied and Tirabaru exists only as a sort of pseudopodium of Ajimaa stretching toward but not reaching its former location. The greater part of the 'mura-uchi' and yaarui people are in Ajimaa and the present Tirabaru. Kuraha, formerly down on the beach, has been rebuilt above the water, just below Ajimaa, at a new and potentially more important crossroads. 621 178 [361]

It
186 is also important to keep in mind that the relationship is always one of
829 American employer to Okinawan employee; consequently, the American is most
177 often the initiator of action.

464 Conclusion In a number of Okinawan communities military employment has drawn
434 off the surplus population which formerly had emigrated. In not a few communities it has become the mainstay of the economy.

464 Most Okinawans regard military employment as economically advantageous.
829 There is no stigma attached to men who are so employed, but considerable
554 stigma is attached to women who take this employment, particularly the maids.

177 The American installations are dependent to no small degree upon their
618 Okinawan employees, and in turn many Okinawan individuals and communities are
464 wholly dependent upon the military for their livelihood. Their relationship is a symbiotic one which can best be enhanced by mutual understanding; yet the social distance between the Okinawan and American is so great as to make interaction on a basis of equality rare. Because of their different cultural backgrounds and their job situations, both remain ignorant of the other's motives and values, and mutual understanding is difficult if not impossible. Common
[171] denominators in both cultures might be sought as a means of bridging this gap, as, for example, their common love of sports.

3. Japan, America, and Okinawa

W. P. Suttles

829 Japan in Retrospect Okinawan attitudes toward Japan are decidedly ambivalent. Factors that have entered into the formation of these attitudes are as follows:

175 1) Historic Relations On the negative side are the historic separa-
648 tion and former independence of Okinawa. This separate status is still re-
829 membered by old people, some of whom speak of wars between Okinawa and "Yamatu" (Yamato, that is, Japan). Several illiterate old people seemed to make no distinction between the conquest and oppression of Okinawa by the feudal state of Satsuma and the later annexation by the national government, and thus seemed to be blaming Japan as a whole for wrongs done by Satsuma.

171 On the positive side there is the indisputable remote common origin
174 and basic similarity of the Japanese and the Okinawans. Racially, linguis-
177 tically, and culturally the Okinawans are closely related to the Japanese.
829 They may be said to be merely a kind of Japanese. It is highly probable that the majority of the ancestors of the Okinawans came from the north, from Japan, in the not too remote past. Their isolation made it possible for them to be politically independent and their political independence made it possible for them to escape the levelling influence of Japanese national governments, particularly that of the Tokugawa Shogunate, and for them to have closer contact with China. This accounts for their having a number of elements of Chinese culture that are not found in Japan, but it does not make them a kind of Chinese.